





HAND-BOOK

TO ACCOMPANY

Walker R HOUGHTON'S CONSPECTUS

OF

Political History

AND THE

Federal Government.

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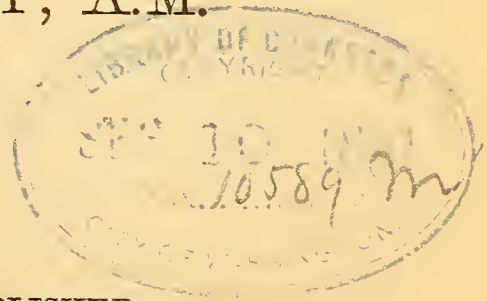
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PREFACE.

THE Hand-Book is adapted to both the chart and book form. It is designed to aid the teacher by enabling him to economize his time and labor. It is designed to assist the scholar by giving him a systematic order of study by means of a series of questions which direct his attention to the detailed facts, thus enabling him to master the work with greater ease and facility.

It follows the order of the chart, and the chronological order of events.

It is divided into sections corresponding to the vertical spaces or divisions of the chart. In order to increase its utility in the school-room, each section is divided into lessons. These lessons are purposely made short, that thoroughness may be secured, and satiety avoided.

Interspersed are brief biographical notices of persons who have been prominent in the political history of the country, and such other information as our limited space will allow.

SECTION I.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

1776—1789.

SUGGESTIONS TO PUPILS.

Examine the top of the chart, left-hand corner, or the folded plate at the end of the book. The three Departments of the Government, with their subdivisions, are represented in a diagram. Study this diagram carefully, until you familiarize yourself with, first, the three Departments of the Federal Government ; secondly, with what constitutes each Department. Then prepare answers to the following questions. After completing the first lesson, lay the book aside. After a proper interval, not less than an hour, take the Hand-Book, repeat the questions, and answer them without reference to the Conspectus. Proceed in a similar manner with all the lessons.

LESSON I.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEFINED.

See Chart, left-hand, under diagram of Departments.

Book Form.—See last folded plate.

1. What is the Federal Government ?
2. When was it organized ?
3. In accordance with what provisions ?
4. For what general Departments does the Constitution provide ?

5. Of what does the Legislative Department consist?

Ans. Congress.

6. What is Congress?

7. Of what is Congress composed?

8. How often does Congress hold regular sessions?

9. When does a regular session begin?

10. When close? Ans. At 12 M. on the 4th of March.

11. By whom may an extra session be called?

12. What is the length of a Congress?

13. Why two years?

LESSON II.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SENATE.

1. Give the method of finding what years were covered by any particular Congress.

2. How may the number of a Congress for any specified year be found?

3. Find the number of the Congress of 1880.

Solution. $1880 - 1789 = 91$; add 1, and divide by 2;
 $(91 + 1) \div 2 = 46$. Ans.

4. What are the duties of Congress?

5. Of what branches does Congress consist?

6. How are laws passed?

7. Of what is the Senate composed?

8. What is the length of a Senator's term of office?

9. How are Senators chosen?

10. Who presides in the Senate?

11. What powers has the Senate without the concurrence of the House of Representatives?

LESSON III.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

1. Of what is the House of Representatives composed?
2. Is the number of Representatives always the same?
3. What produces changes in the number?
4. State the exclusive powers of the House of Representatives.
5. What are the duties of the Judicial Department of the Government?
6. Of what does the Judicial Department consist?
7. What is the Supreme Court?
8. Of what composed?
9. Where is the Court held?
10. When does it commence its sessions?
11. To what are its labors chiefly confined?
12. What is done with its decisions?
13. What do these decisions furnish?
14. The decisions of the Supreme Court, up to the present time (1881), fill how many volumes?
15. What is the estimate in which these reports are held by foreign countries?

LESSON IV.

JUDICIARY, CONTINUED—EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Review the three preceding Lessons.

1. Describe the Inferior Courts.
2. The Circuit Courts are held in how many circuits?
3. Do these circuits embrace the whole country?

4. Where are District Courts held?
5. Where is the Court of Claims held?
6. What are the duties of the Executive Department?
7. Of what does the Executive Department consist?

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

8. Name the Heads of Departments constituting the President's Cabinet.

9. How many members constituted Washington's Cabinet? Ans. Four.

10. The Heads of what Departments? Ans. Secretary of State, of Treasury, of War, and the Attorney General.

The Secretary of the Navy became a member of the Cabinet in 1798, at the time of the organization of the Department.

The Postmaster General became a Cabinet officer March 9, 1829, and the Secretary of the Interior was admitted to a seat in the Cabinet in 1849, at the time the Department was created.

11. How many members in the Cabinet at the present time?

12. When was the State Department organized?

13. What official is at the head of this Department?

14. State the duties of the Secretary of State.

RECAPITULATION.

PRESIDENT'S CABINET.

1789 TO 1798.

Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, and Attorney General.

1798 TO 1829.

Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, Attorney General.

1829 TO 1849.

Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, Postmaster General, and Attorney General.

1849 TO PRESENT TIME.

Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Secretary of Navy, Secretary of the Interior, Postmaster General, Attorney General.

MODE OF ELECTING PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President is elected for a term of four years by electors chosen by the people for that purpose. By an Act of Congress passed in 1792, the Electors, in each State, are required to be chosen within *thirty-four days preceding the first Wednesday of December in every fourth year succeeding the last Presidential election.*

The number of Electors in each State must be exactly equal to the number of United States Representatives and Senators to which the State is entitled.

Neither a Representative nor Senator, nor any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, can be an Elector.

The Electors are required to meet in their respective States at a place fixed by the Legislature, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, "one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of their own State." They are required to name, in distinct and separate ballots, the person voted for as President and the person voted for as Vice-President.

They are then required to make distinct *lists* of all the persons voted for as President and of all the persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each. This list they sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate.

The President of the Senate, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, opens all the certificates, and the votes are counted.

The person having the greatest number of votes for President, if the number be a majority of all the Electors appointed, is the President.

If no person has such majority, then, from those having the highest number, not exceeding three, the House of Representatives choose, immediately, by ballot, the President.

The votes, in this case, are taken by States ; the representation from each State having one vote.

The votes for Vice-President are opened and counted in the same way. If no one has a majority of all the Electors, then the Senate choose the Vice-President. (See Art. 12, of the Amendments to the Constitution, passed March 4th, 1789.)

ELIGIBILITY TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

He must be a native born citizen of the United States, or a citizen at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

He must have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

LESSON V.

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS, CONTINUED.

1. When was the Treasury Department organized?
 2. What is the head of this Department called?
 3. What is the business of the Secretary?
 4. When was the War Department organized?
 5. What official is at the head of it? What are his duties?
 6. When was the Navy Department organized?
 7. Previous to this time what official had charge of Naval affairs?
 8. What is the official head of the Navy Department called?
 9. What are the duties of the office?
-

LESSON VI.

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS, CONTINUED.

1. When was the Post-office Department organized?
2. What is the title of its chief magistrate?
3. When did the Postmaster General become a Cabinet officer?
4. What are the duties of the office?
5. When was the Department of Justice created?
6. What is the name of its chief official?
7. What are the duties of the Attorney General?
8. When was the Department of the Interior created?
9. Name its chief officer.
10. Mention the duties of this Secretary.

LESSON VII.

DIAGRAM.—VIEW OF THE COLONIES AND THE REVOLUTION.

It will be observed that Section I. embraces, on the Chart, the entire vertical space from the left hand margin to the vertical line drawn from the top at the point marked 1789.

Below the description of the Federal Government is the beginning of the diagram representing the Political Parties by colored streams.

At the extreme left is a rectangular figure representing the Colonies under British rule.

 See Book, first folded plate, for the same.

1. What was the first grievance discussed and complained of by the Colonies?
2. What is the date of this complaint?
3. What was the second grievance, and when?
4. What was the third, and when?
5. What was the fourth, and when?
6. What three rights did the colonists claim and demand?
7. When did the war of the revolution break out?
8. When was the Declaration of Independence framed and adopted?
9. What two parties emerged from the Colonies?
10. When did they begin as separate political organizations?
11. When was the Confederation first advocated, and by which party?
12. When did the Tories cease to exist as a political party?
13. In 1787 what political parties were formed?

14. What were the issues which gave rise to these parties?

It will add to the interest of the study of the Federal Government to know something of the distinguished men who took part in the struggle for liberty, as well as those who have borne a prominent part in the history of the Republic.

Our limited space allows a mention of but few biographical incidents in any particular case. Prominent among those who took part in the early struggle were Patrick Henry, John Hancock, I. James Wilson, Edmond Randolph, Samuel Adams, George Clinton, Richard Henry Lee, Henry Knox, and Samuel Osgood.

JOHN HANCOCK.

John Hancock, a native of Massachusetts, born in 1737, was a prominent and successful merchant of Boston. In 1766 he was chosen to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. In 1770, after the massacre, he was a member of the committee chosen to demand of the Royal Governor the removal of the troops from the city.

At the funeral of the slain he delivered an address which offended the Governor, who attempted to have him arrested. In 1774, he was chosen member of the Provincial Congress which met at Concord, and was made its President. In 1775, he was chosen President of the Continental Congress. In 1776, he signed the Declaration of Independence. In 1777, became a member of the convention for framing a constitution for Massachusetts. In 1780, was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and,

except during an interval of two years, was re-elected annually until the time of his death, which occurred in 1793.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Samuel Adams, prominent among the leaders of the Anti-Federal party, was a native of Boston, born in 1720. He was educated at Harvard, from which institution he graduated in 1740.

He turned his attention soon after he graduated to mercantile pursuits, and became an active merchant at Boston. In the contest of the Colonies with the mother country, Adams took a leading part. He was distinguished for his courage, energy, and advocacy of republican principles. From 1765 to 1774 he represented Boston in the General Court, and was its clerk. He took an active part in its debates, wrote most of its papers in the controversy with Bernard and Hutchinson.

From 1777 to 1782 he was a member of the Continental Congress. He did, perhaps, more than any other man to bring about a revolution. He helped form the State Constitution of 1780 for his native State, and was an active member of the Massachusetts Convention to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

He was Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts from 1789 to 1794; at the last mentioned date he was elected Governor. He died in 1803.

SAMUEL OSGOOD.

Samuel Osgood, the first Postmaster General of the United States, was born in Massachusetts, in 1748; was educated at Harvard, and afterwards studied divinity.

Before entering upon his professional duties he changed his course and became a merchant. He was active in organizing the volunteer service of the revolution, and soon after hostilities commenced he was commissioned colonel of a regiment. He served in the Massachusetts Legislature. He was the first Commissioner of the United States Treasury. In 1789 he was appointed Postmaster General.

He was the author of several religious works. He died in 1798.

I. JAMES WILSON.

I. James Wilson was one of the prominent leaders of the Federal party, and worked in harmony with Jay, Hamilton, and Madison. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was a native of Scotland, born in 1742.

He became a lawyer in Philadelphia, served several terms in the Continental Congress, was a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention, and one of the first associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1790 he became the first Professor of Law in the College of Philadelphia.

He died in 1798.

EDMOND RANDOLPH.

Edmond Randolph, the first Attorney General of the United States, was a native of Virginia, born in 1753. He took active part in the events of the revolution. In 1776, he was chosen a delegate to the Virginia Convention. From 1779 to 1783 he was a member of the Continental Congress; in 1787 was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention. He refused to sign the

Constitution, but afterwards advocated its adoption. In 1788, was elected Governor of Virginia. In 1789, appointed United States Attorney General. In 1794, was appointed Secretary of State. He resigned in 1795 because accused of an intrigue with the French Envoy. He published a vindication of his course.

He died in 1813.

PATRICK HENRY,

A native of Virginia, was one of nine children. He was sent to school until he could read and write and had some knowledge of arithmetic. At home, under the instruction of his father, he obtained a limited knowledge of Latin, a very little Greek, and became something of a proficient in mathematics. He is said to have loved idleness, and to be far more fond of roaming in the woods and along the banks of streams with a fish pole in his hands than he was of books or work. His companions are said to remember no instance of premature wit, no flash of fancy, no striking sentiment, no strength of thought or beauty of expression. His person is represented as coarse, and his manners awkward. He, however, showed a propensity to observe and read human character.

At fifteen he was put to a clerkship in a store, but failed to satisfy his employer. He was soon after set up with his brother in a country store, but made a complete failure. He married at eighteen, and by the aid of his own and his wife's father was established on a small farm. He farmed with poor success for two years, sold out, tried again the life of a merchant, and having but little custom he began to study geography and his-

tory, especially that of Greece and Rome. Livy was a favorite author. From him he learned the grandeur of the Roman character. His business declined more and more, until he became bankrupt. He had, lying deep beneath his coarse exterior, great acuteness of feeling. Looking upon his wife and children in want, he felt that his cup of misery was full. He possessed great native firmness, and great reliance on that unseen arm which never long deserts the faithful. Here lies the secret of his future greatness. He himself said: "Having lost one part of my life in idleness and mistakes is no reason why I should throw away the other."

His mind was not a freak of nature—it was simply a plant of slow growth. He now determined to make a trial of the law. His hopes were not high, but he believed he could earn a scanty subsistence for himself and family.

For admission to the bar he must be examined by three examiners. Two had given him their signatures; the third was the King's Attorney General, a gentleman of courtly elegance of person and manners, a polished scholar, and profound lawyer—the distinguished John Randolph.

Randolph was shocked at Henry's ungainly figure and address, and refused to examine him. Afterwards learning that the other two had passed him, he changed his mind. Randolph soon found that, on points of law, he was deficient, but on points of equity requiring argument he was equal to his examiner.

He was admitted to practice at the age of twenty-four. For three years he was in the background.

His first great speech was in defence of the people against the clergy in the celebrated tobacco suit, 1763.

In this trial he gained a great victory and surprised everybody.

In 1765 he became a member of the House of Burgesses. The House was composed of Virginia's greatest statesmen.

Here Henry made his speech against the Stamp Act. In 1775, he made his great speech in the Virginia Convention, in which he electrified and united the people.

In his *profession* his great forte lay in carrying the jury. In criminal suits he was said to be perfectly irresistible.

Henry always deplored his early neglect of literature. His was the spirit to raise the whirlwind. His great speech in defence of liberty proves it. His private life was said to be as indicative of his greatness as his public. His disposition was mild, his affections warm, kind, and social; his temper even, unclouded, cheerful, and serene; his patience invincible; his manners plain, open, and familiar; his conversation easy and unaffected.

LESSON VIII.

COLONIAL.

Chart.—Left hand margin, below “*Presidential Electors.*”

Book.—See 7th page.

1. Were the Colonies divided among themselves by political parties?
2. What sentiments did they advocate adverse to those of the British Crown?
3. What did the Colonies contend was secured to them by their charters.
4. How were these charters regarded?

5. By what rights did the Colonies claim supervision over all internal interests?
 6. What reserved right did they accede to Parliament?
 7. What seemed to induce indirect taxation?
 8. What was the first Legislature which protested against the aggressions of Parliament?
 9. When did Plymouth protest?
 10. What followed for the next thirty years?
-

LESSON IX.

COLONIAL, CONTINUED.

1. What was the effect of the Navigation Laws after 1651?
2. Why?
3. When were internal duties imposed for the first time?
4. What was the result of these duties?
5. What did the British do to the manufactures?
6. When was direct taxation attempted?
7. By what means?
8. What did the Stamp Act provide?
9. How did the Colonies feel and what did they do in regard to the Stamp Act?
10. What was the ultimate effect of these oppressive measures?
11. What was the object of the Colonies in the first year of the war?
12. What did the Colonies do when they found themselves unable to obtain a redress of grievances?

LESSON X.

Chart.—Under the word "Candidates" beneath Party Diagram.

Book.—See page 7.

REVOLUTION—ORIGIN OF PARTIES—DECLARATION—OLD
WHIG PARTY.

1. What gave rise to the Whig and Tory parties ?
 2. What was the line of difference between the parties during the first fifteen months of hostilities ?
 3. What were the points of difference between the Whigs and Tories ?
 4. What were the issues of the parties after the Declaration of Independence in 1776 ?
 5. By whom and when was the Declaration moved in Congress ?
 6. Repeat his words.
 7. When was the Declaration adopted ?
 8. Of whom was the Whig party composed ?
 9. What were those called who took active part in the struggle ?
 10. When the war began what party assumed the control of affairs ?
-

LESSON XI.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION—
TORY PARTY.

1. Of what was the Continental Congress composed ?
2. Were the requirements of this Congress binding on the States ?
3. How, then, was unity of action secured ?

4. How did the Colonies attempt to establish a settled form of government ?

5. How many articles of confederation were there ?

6. What were the powers of Congress as defined in these articles ?

7. What were the chief defects of the Articles of Confederation ?

8. Who composed the Tory party ?

9. By whom joined ?

10. By what other name were they known ?

11. How did the Whigs attempt to punish the Tories ?

12. What penalties were inflicted by the Legislatures of the States upon them ?

13. What did the Tories do when the British troops were withdrawn ?

14. To whom did the exiles appear for relief, and *what* relief did they receive ?

RICHARD HENRY LEE

Was a native of Virginia, a statesman of the highest order. He took an active part in the struggle for Independence, was a member of the House of Burgesses during the contest with the King and Parliament, and the right of taxation, the Navigation Laws, the Stamp Act, and other grievances and differences, which culminated in the revolution.

On the 7th of June, 1776, he moved a declaration, in the Colonial Congress, in these words: "Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

This was before the formal Declaration written by Jefferson, and adopted on the 4th of July of the same year, was prepared.

Lee was the Cicero of the House. His face was said to be of the Roman model, and his whole contour noble and fine. His taste had that delicate touch which seizes the beauty of thought and of language. He had the *vox canora* of him who thundered anathemas against Catiline in the Roman Senate, softened and enriched by a quiet yet acute sensibility and a fervid imagination. His oratory was like the smooth flowing stream, charming to the ear, yet he could not unlock the strong and tender passions of the human soul like Patrick Henry, or the great American orator, Daniel Webster.

GEORGE CLINTON.

George Clinton was a native of New York, born in 1738. He was an ardent advocate of the rights of the American Colonies, and took an active part in the war of the revolution. In 1768, when New York was a colony of Great Britain, he was elected to the Colonial Assembly. In 1775 he represented New York in the Continental Congress.

In 1777, he was appointed Brigadier-General. He was the first Governor of New York under a State Constitution, holding the office from 1777 to 1795. He was re-elected in 1801, and held the office until 1804, when he was elected Vice-President of the United States, at the second election of Jefferson as President. He was re-elected Vice-President at the first election of Madison as President, and held the office until his death in 1812.

LESSON XII.

Chart.—(See third column of first Vertical Section.

Book.—Page 8.

PARTICULARISTS — STRONG-GOVERNMENT MEN — WEAKNESS OF THE CONFEDERATION — CONSTITUTION FORMED.

1. The Whigs were composed of what classes ? Ans.
Particularists and Strong-Government Men.

2. What were the political views of the Particularists ?

3. What drove them to these views ?

4. State the political views of the Strong-Government Men.

5. State, in brief, the weakness of the Confederation, and the effect of that weakness upon foreign nations.

6. What was the result of this disregard of law in Massachusetts ?

7. What was the constant aim of the Strong-Government Men ?

8. What was done in 1786 ?

9. What was recommended by Congress to sanction the report ?

10. State what was done by the Convention which met at Philadelphia.

GENERAL HENRY KNOX,

The first Secretary of War, was one of the first to take up arms against the British.

He was born in Boston, in 1750 ; was an active participant in the Battle of Bunker Hill. In 1776, when it was found that the patriot army was exceedingly defi-

cient in cannon, Knox was sent out in quest of them. In less time than it was thought he could find a dozen, he brought in fifty cannon, mortars, and howitzers. He was appointed, in 1776, in command of the artillery, by Washington, and held that command through the war.

He distinguished himself in the New Jersey campaign, repulsed Cornwallis at Assumpink, and shared in the brilliant action at Princeton.

On the election of Washington to the office of President of the United States, Knox was appointed Secretary of War, which, at that time, included the control and management of the Navy.

He died in 1806.

LESSON XIII.

FEDERAL AND ANTI-FEDERAL PARTIES.

1. Who opposed the efforts to change the Articles of Confederation ?
2. What were they called by their opponents, and why ?
3. How long was this party in power ?
4. Name the persons most prominent among the Anti-Federals.
5. Why did they oppose the Strong-Government Men?
6. What influenced certain persons of this party to change their views ?
7. What fact increased the fears of the Anti-Federals?
8. At what did the Anti-Federals become alarmed ?
9. What led the Anti-Federals to become Close Constructionists ?

LESSON XIV.

FEDERAL AND ANTI-FEDERAL PARTIES—PROCEEDINGS
UNDER THE CONSTITUTION—FIRST PRESIDENT.

1. What gave rise to the name of the Federal party?
2. What views were advocated, and when did the Federalists come into power first?
3. How were discussions and the ratification of the Constitution carried on?
4. What distinguished men were conspicuous in the Federal cause?
5. What essays appeared in the New York papers, and who were their authors?
6. What book composed of these essays has become classic in American political history?
7. What took place in 1788 in reference to the Constitution?
8. When and where did proceedings under the Constitution begin?
9. When was Washington inaugurated President?

SECTION II.

ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

1789—1797.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Washington was a native of Virginia, born February 22, 1732, died December 14, 1799.

His father died when George was in his tenth year, from which circumstance his early impressions were largely formed under the guiding direction of his mother, from whom he seems to have inherited many of the qualities of mind and heart that actuated his maturer years.

His father was a man distinguished for integrity and firmness. His mother was a high-spirited woman, of uncommon strength of mind and decision of character, yet of great simplicity of manners.

It is said her leading characteristics were strict punctuality in keeping her word, a high regard for all obligations of justice, a plain honest reality and truth peculiar to that age, without empty professions or a whitewash of outward polish.

Washington was not born rich. His school learning embraced simply the ordinary branches of an English education. It exalts his character to know that, with these limited opportunities, he, by his own perseverance and application, supplied these deficiencies, so that when

called upon to take the charge of the destinies of his country, he was found gloriously adequate to the task.

For a time he was land surveyor for Lord Fairfax.

In youth his habits and inclinations were decidedly military ; he took lessons in Manual Exercises from Adjutant Munn, and read with him many treatises on the art of war. He became an expert fencer under the instruction of Monsieur Braam, who was subsequently his interpreter in his interview with the French commander on the Ohio.

At the age of 19 he was appointed Deputy-Adjutant with the rank of Major of the Colonial State of Virginia.

At the breaking out of the French and Indian war he volunteered his services to Governor Dinwiddie as envoy to St. Pierre, the French commander on the Ohio. The Governor, a sturdy Scotsman, addressed him thus :

“Faith, you are a brave lad. I accept the tender. If you play your cards well, you shall have no cause to regret your bargain.”

Washington had a rough experience in making this tour, but it was bravely performed and successfully executed. On his return, having delivered his message to Governor Dinwiddie, he entered the House of Burgesses and took a seat in the gallery. At once the Speaker rose and moved that “The thanks of the House be given to Major Washington, who now sits in the gallery, for the gallant manner in which he has executed the important trust lately reposed in him.”

Washington rose to reply, but his natural and unconquerable embarrassment sealed his tongue, and he was unable to utter a word. The Speaker, discerning his modesty, paid him this memorable compliment :

"Sit down, Major Washington. Your modesty is alone equal to your valor, and that surpasses any power of language."

At the age of 20 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel under Colonel Fry. The latter soon after died and the command fell on Washington.

In 1755 he joined the British forces who were engaged in the war with the French and hostile Indians. He was in the battle in which General Braddock was killed, and was the only one of Braddock's aids who remained alive. Twice his horse was shot under him, and his own clothes were perforated with bullets.

At 22, after Braddock's defeat and Darbey's desertion, Virginia raised an army for her own defence, and placed Washington in command. At the close of the French and Indian war he resigned his commission and retired to his home at Mount Vernon.

At the age of 27, in 1759, he married Mrs. Martha Custis, the widow of John Park Custis. Mrs. Custis was born in the same year in which Washington was born.

Washington was regular and systematic in all his domestic habits. His hours of rising and retiring were the same throughout the year. He always shaved himself, breakfasted at 7 in summer and at 8 in winter, dined at 2, drank his tea at an early hour in the evening, and never indulged in suppers.

His height was upwards of 6 feet ; he was robust but symmetrical. In his manner he displayed a grave self-possession, and his movements were always graceful.

He was at different times a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and was a prominent member of the first Continental Congress.

On the 4th of June, 1775, he was unanimously chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies.

His career during the Revolution is familiar to most persons.

He was the soul that animated the war, the genius that directed it, its presiding spirit of valor, prudence, and decision.

After the surrender of Cornwallis and the withdrawal of the British came one of the most trying occurrences of his life, and one most difficult to manage. An anonymous address had been made to the army, published and circulated among the soldiers and officers. This address pleaded the services and claims of the soldiers and the cold neglect of Congress, and appointed a day for a meeting to take active measures in the case. It was expressed in strong terms, and appealed to the feelings of the soldiers. It proposed to court the auspices and invite the direction of their illustrious leader. If Congress refused to reward them they would retire to some unsettled wilderness, and then smile in their turn at Congress, and mock when its fear came.

At no period had Washington been placed in a situation to so test his sterling integrity and patriotism. Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, would have seen a future throne from the standpoint of Washington. With temperate wisdom he took measures to counteract the effects of this inflammatory address, not by forbidding or opposing the meeting it recommended, but by issuing a general order for the same purpose. The time of the meeting, proposed by him preceded that of the anonymous address.

At the meeting, as Washington cast his eyes round on the war-worn band, poorly clad, many of them prema-

turely old from fatigue and exposure, the fountains of his feeling heart were broken up, and his eyes were dimmed with tear drops. In one laconic sentence he addressed them : "Soldiers of a people freed from tyranny by your own heroic deeds, I am growing old in my country's service and losing my sight, but I never doubted my country's justice or her gratitude." The call of the anonymous address was disregarded, and its influence scattered to the winds.

In 1783 the army was disbanded, and Washington took leave of his officers and repaired to Annapolis where Congress was in session, and resigned his commission.

In 1784 he retired to Mount Vernon.

In 1789 he was inaugurated first President of the United States, having been unanimously elected to that office.

In 1793 he was inaugurated President of the United States the second time. In the same year he laid the corner stone of the Capitol at Washington, D. C., with civil, military, and Masonic honors. In 1796 he declined a renomination. In 1797, after delivering his farewell address, he retired to Mount Vernon, where he remained until his death in 1799.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

Examine the diagram at the top of the Chart or at the top of the folded plate in the back part of Conspectus, book form. Fix well in the mind the three departments of the Federal Government, with their subdivisions. Then answer the following questions :

1. Who was the first President ?
2. Who was the first Vice-President ?
3. What political party was in power ?

To answer, see diagram of Political Parties represented by colored streams in the middle of the Chart, or the same diagram in first folded map of the Conspectus, book form. Compare color of the diagram representing the Administration with the same color in the diagram of Political Parties, and read the name of the party on the last-named diagram.

4. When did Washington's administration begin ?
5. When did it end ?
6. Who was the first Secretary of State, and for what length of time ?

For the answer find Department of State in the left hand square of the Inaugural diagrams, at the top of the Chart. In the book form, find the same at the top of the folded plate in the back part of the book.

7. Name the other Secretaries of State during their first administration.
8. Who was the first Secretary of the Treasury ?
9. Name the other two during this administration.

LESSON II.

1. Who were Secretaries of War during Washington's administration?
 2. Name the Postmasters General.
 3. Who were Attorneys General?
 4. Who was the first Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and for what length of time?
 5. Who else were Chief Justices during Washington's administration?
 6. Name the Associate Justices during this administration.
 7. Who was Vice-President with Washington?
 8. Who were the Speakers* of the House of Representatives during Washington's administration.
-

LESSON III.

See Diagram of Parties in the middle of the Chart. See the same diagram, first folded plate in the book form.

1. When did the Federal Party come into power?
2. Name the two great parties at that time.
3. When did the Anti-Federal party change its name, and to what?
4. What was the first bill advocated by the Federalists?
5. What did the financial policy as advocated by the Federals in 1790 include?
6. What were the chief issues of the Anti-Federals in 1789?

* The House of Representatives elects one of its own members to preside over its deliberations.

The presiding officer is called the *Speaker of the House*.

7. What foreign policy did the Federals advocate in 1793.

8. What did the Democratic Republicans advocate?

LESSON IV.

FEDERALS—ANTI-FEDERALS—HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON
—TARIFF—BILL OF RIGHTS.

1. What party was in power during the first administration?

2. What was the first duty of the administration?

3. What is a noted feature in Washington's selection of his Cabinet, and what motive led to it?

4. Give the cause of the organization of the Anti-Federal party.

5. What is said of Hamilton and Jefferson?

6. When was the first tariff law passed by Congress?

7. What was the object of the law?

8. What is said of Hamilton's report?

9. Describe the Bill of Rights passed by the first Congress.

10. Of how many articles did it consist, and how many were ratified?

LESSON V.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY—FINANCIAL POLICY—DEBTS—INTERNAL REVENUE—MILITIA.

1. State the principles of State Sovereignty as advocated by the Anti-Federal party.

2. When did legislation begin, in accordance with whose policy, and what did it embrace?

3. What was the effect upon the political parties?
 4. What induced the Funding Act, and what did it provide?
 5. What feature of the Act was strongly opposed?
 6. By what compromise was the bill passed?
 7. What memorial did it elicit, and from what State?
 8. On what did the excise law passed by the first Congress impose a tax?
 9. State the manner in which the opposition to the law manifested itself.
 10. In 1794, how did the administration test the valty of the Constitution?
 11. What was said by the Anti-Federals when the Militia were called out?
 12. When was the first National Bank law passed?
 13. What members of the Cabinet pronounced it constitutional?
 14. What members pronounced it unconstitutional?
 15. What were the arguments against its constitutionality?
-

LESSON VI.

SLAVERY—DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN PARTY—ELECTION
OF 1792—FOREIGN POLICY OF FRANCE—ENGLAND—
ELECTION OF 1796—RETIREMENT OF WASHINGTON.

1. State the manner in which the subject of slavery was brought before Congress, and tell what was the result.
2. When was the Fugitive Slave Law passed?
3. State causes of a change of name of the Anti-Federal Party.

4. What gave rise to the term Democrat as applied to the party ?

5. State the results of the election of 1792.

6. What was the effect of the French Revolution on the political parties of the United States ?

7. When was Washington's celebrated proclamation of neutrality issued ?

8. What was the import of this proclamation ?

9. State the opposition expressed by Jefferson and others.

10. When and what was the next political disturbance occasioned by France ?

11. State the disturbance with England in 1793 ; and how a reconciliation was effected.

12. How did Washington regard this political contest, and what positions did each political party take ?

13. What is said of Washington's farewell address ?

14. Who were the candidates for President in 1796, and with what result ?

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Alexander Hamilton was a native of the Island of Nevis, in the West Indies, born January 11, 1757. His father was from Scotland, and his mother was of the Huguenot stock. In 1769 he became a counting-house clerk of Nicholas Cruger, a relative of his mother, living at Santa Cruz. In 1772 he was sent to a grammar school at Elizabeth, N. J. At the age of 16 years, in 1773, he entered King's College—now Columbia. This was at an eventful period of American history. The tocsin of the Revolution had been sounded. In his junior year in college he assisted the "Sons of Liberty" to carry

off the British cannon from Fort George at the foot of Broadway. Soon after he entered the army as captain of an artillery company, and distinguished himself for bravery at the battles of White Plains, Trenton, and Princeton. He was chosen aid to Washington, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, in 1777, and was Washington's Chief Secretary to the end of the war. He led a corps of light infantry under Lafayette to the siege of Yorktown. He was admitted to the bar in 1782; was a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and was a member of the State Convention of New York that ratified that Constitution. He was Secretary of the Treasury under Washington, and soon brought order out of financial confusion. Hamilton was a pure-minded patriot, a brave soldier, an acute financier, and an accomplished statesman.

JOHN JAY,

The venerated American patriot and statesman, was the first Chief-Justice under the Constitution. He was a descendant of the Huguenots who fled to America to escape persecution. He was born in New York, 1745. He was educated in King's College, now Columbia; was admitted to the bar in 1768; was a member of the first Continental Congress, and made an appeal to the people of Great Britain, which Jefferson, ignorant of the authorship, pronounced the production of the finest pen in America. He was chosen to draft a State Constitution for New York in 1777. He was appointed Chief-Justice of New York in the same year; was elected to Congress under the Confederation, and chosen its President. He was appointed Minister to Spain in 1779,

with the design of obtaining the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, form a treaty of alliance, and obtain a loan of money. In 1782 was one of the committee to negotiate peace with England. In 1784, when the Constitution went into effect, was appointed to the management of the Foreign Department. From 1796 to 1801 was Governor of New York. He was for many years President of the American Bible Society. Died in 1829, in his 84th year.

Number of Troops from each of the old thirteen States, enlisted during the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783, including Continental Soldiers and Militia.

AMERICAN ALMANAC, BY AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD.

(BY PERMISSION.)

STATE.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.	1780.	1781.	1782.	1783.
New Hampshire	2,824	4,019	4,480	1,783	1,226	1,777	700	744	733
Massachusetts ..	16,444	20,372	12,591	13,437	7,738	7,889	5,298	4,423	4,370
Connecticut.....	4,507	13,127	6,563	4,010	3,544	3,687	3,921	1,732	1,740
Rhode Island....	1,193	1,900	2,048	3,056	1,263	915	464	481	372
New York	2,075	8,094	5,332	2,194	3,756	4,847	1,178	1,198	1,169
New Jersey.....	...	9,086	2,908	2,586	1,276	1,267	823	660	676
Pennsylvania....	400	10,295	9,464	3,684	3,476	3,337	1,346	1,265	1,598
Delaware.....	.....	754	1,299	349	317	556	89	164	235
Maryland .....	...	3,329	7,567	3,307	2,849	2,065	2,107	1,280	974
Virginia.....	3,180	6,181	11,013	7,830	8,573	6,986	6,119	2,204	629
North Carolina..	2,000	4,134	1,281	1,287	4,920	3,000	3,545	1,105	697
South Carolina..	4,000	6,069	2,000	3,650	4,500	6,000	3,000	2,000	139
Georgia	1,000	2,301	2,173	3,873	837	750	750	750	145
Total.....	37,363	89,761	68,720	51,046	44,275	43,076	29,340	18,006	13,477

SECTION III.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

1797—1801.

John Adams was a native of Massachusetts, born in 1735, died on the 4th of July, 1826. He was a graduate from Harvard University ; distinguished as a sound and judicious lawyer ; was one of the five delegates from Massachusetts to the first Congress, in which he eloquently defended the Declaration of Independence and advocated its adoption. In 1777 he was appointed Commissioner to France ; was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1788, which office he held for two presidential terms, and was elected President in 1796, and held the office during one Presidential term.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. Give the date of the beginning and end of John Adams's administration ?
2. Who was Vice-President ?
3. Who were Secretaries of State ?
4. Which one held over from Washington's administration ?

5. Who were Secretaries of the Treasury?
6. Which one of these held over from Washington's administration?
7. Who were Secretaries of War?
8. Which one of these held over from the preceding administration?
9. Who were Secretaries of the Navy, and for what years?
10. Name the Postmaster-General, and for what length of time?
11. Name the Attorney-General, and tell the number of years he officiated?
12. Who was the Chief Justice?
13. Who were Associate Judges?
14. Who were Speakers of the House of Representatives?*

LESSON II.

PARTY ISSUES.

See Diagram of Parties.

1. What political party was in power during John Adams' administration?
2. What laws were advocated by the party in 1798?
3. Preparations were made for a war with what foreign power?
4. What issue was raised by the Republican party in 1798?
5. When were the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions passed?
6. What six constitutional principles were advocated and made an issue by the Republicans in 1800?

* The House of Representatives elects one of its own members to preside. The presiding officer is called the Speaker of the House.

LESSON III.

ADAMS'S POSITION—FRANCE—STAMP ACT—WAR AGAINST FRANCE—ARMY AND NAVY—ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS—NATURALIZATION—KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS.

1. How did Adams, in his inaugural, soften the ardor of his opponents?
2. What was done by France to cripple our foreign trade?
3. What course was pursued by the President?
4. During this extra session of Congress what act was passed?
5. State further the relations of the country with France. What was authorized in 1798?
6. What was its effect?
7. How were the enlargement of the army and navy regarded by the people?
8. What was the object of the Alien and Sedition Laws, and of the Naturalization Law?
9. Define each.
10. What resolutions were occasioned by the Alien and Sedition Laws?
11. In what does the importance of these resolutions lie?
12. Who were the authors of these resolutions?
13. What were the import and design of these resolutions?
14. What course did Virginia pursue?

LESSON IV.

DISRUPTURE OF THE CABINET—ELECTION OF 1800—DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS—DOWNFALL OF FEDERALISM.

1. State the circumstances which led to a disrapture of John Adams's Cabinet.

2. How many, and who, were Federal Presidential candidates in 1800 ?

3. Who was instrumental in setting forth the defects of Adams ? How ?

4. Was there any such division in the ranks of the Democratic Republican party ?

5. Name the Federal candidates of 1800.

6. Name the Republican candidates.

7. What was there connected with the Republican Convention at that time *new and calculated to interest the people* ? Ans. A Platform of Principles. This was the first platform of principles promulgated by any nominating convention.

See Platforms of Political Parties, page 22 of the Hand-Book.

8. State the number of Electors chosen, how many were Federalists, and how many Republicans.

9. State how the Electors voted at that time, and state the result of the election.

10. State the political excitement during the Presidential campaign.

11. State the causes that produced the downfall of the Federal Party.

12. Did the principles of the party survive the party ?

SECTION IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

1801—1809.

The nation has quarried no stone for a monument to the memory of the Author of the Declaration of Independence. He needs none. He erected his own monument, more enduring than can be cast in bronze or chiseled in marble. The immortal Declaration, conceived in his own mind, engrossed with his own pen, is far more enduring than metallic casts or chiseled stone. Jefferson was born in Virginia, 1743; educated at William and Mary's College; began the practice of law in 1767; became a member of the Virginia Assembly in 1769; called to be a member of the Constitutional Congress in 1775; and was the youngest of the committee appointed to prepare a declaration of principles of Independence. The Declaration was adopted by the Colonial Congress, July 4, 1776. He was elected Governor of Virginia in 1779. He was sent to France in 1782 to assist the American Commissioners in their negotiations for peace with England; again was sent to France as associate diplomatist with Franklin and Adams in 1784, and was minister to France in 1785. In 1789, on his return from France, before he reached his home, he received from Washington the appointment of Secretary of State. He was chosen Vice-President in 1796, and

President in 1800. Jefferson had auburn hair, ruddy complexion, and a tranquil, benevolent expression of countenance. He was tall, well formed, straight, and uncommonly strong. He was one of the best informed men of his day. All his habits and instincts were those of a close student and an acute observer. He died July 4, 1826, on the same day and nearly the same hour that the spirit of John Adams was liberated from its earthly tabernacle.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. When was Jefferson elected President, and how many terms did he hold the office?
 2. Who was Vice-President during the first term? Who during the second term?
 3. Name his Cabinet during the first term. During the second term.
 4. Name the Postmaster General.
 5. Name the Chief Justice.
 6. Name the Associate Judges.
 7. Who were Speakers of the House, and for what time?
-

LESSON II.

IMPORTANT EVENTS.

1. What war was declared in 1801?
2. What was the number of representatives in 1802?
3. What extraordinary power was given to the President by Congress in 1803?

4. In 1806, what was forbidden by Congress, and what were subjects of disputes with England and France?

5. State the conspiracy of Aaron Burr, and when was it attempted.

Again examine middle of the Chart—Political diagram. In the book form, see folded plate at the beginning of the book. Observe the two colored streams. From 1789 to 1801, the pink curve (Federal) is above. This indicates that the Federal Party was in power. 1800, the green stream (Democratic Republican) passes over and above the pink. This shows that the Democratic Republican Party came into power.

6. What act was advocated by the Republicans in 1807?

7. What in 1809?

8. What was strongly opposed by the Federalists in 1803?

LESSON III.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES AND TRACK—
REPUBLICAN WENT INTO DISUSE—CHURCH AND STATE
—NATURALIZATION—SLAVES IN INDIANA—PURCHASE
OF LOUISIANA.

1. State the substance of Jefferson's policy as set forth in his inaugural address.

2. State the circumstances which favored Jefferson's endeavors to put the government on its Republican track.

3. What is said of the name Democrat?

4. What was the fate of the endeavors to effect a union of Church and State?

5. What Naturalization Law was modified, and what were the provisions of that law?

6. What attempts were made to introduce limited slavery into Indiana, and with what result?

7. What was the origin of the desire to purchase Louisiana?

8. State, in brief, the arguments advanced in favor of the purchase, and those in opposition to it.

9. Which party advocated the purchase? Which opposed it?

LESSON IV.

SECESSION PLANNED—BURRITES—ELECTION OF 1804—
EMBARGO—NON-INTERCOURSE—ELECTION OF 1808—
REPUELICANISM TESTED.

1. By whom was the secession of the Northern States suggested, and for what reasons?

2. On what was their hope of success based? Who opposed the plan?

3. What produced a division of the Republican ranks?

4. How were the Presidential candidates chosen in 1804, and what was Jefferson's majority in the Electoral vote?

5. When was the Embargo Act passed, and what was the origin of it?

6. When was it repealed, and why?

7. On its repeal what did the administration resolve to resume?

8. State the substance of the Non-Intercourse Act.
9. State what is said of the Election of 1808.
10. Who was elected President?
11. What is said of Jefferson's exemplification of the Republican platform?
12. What was the character of his administration, and its influence upon the sentiments of the people?

Growth of Cities of the United States having a population of 50,000 or upwards at the present time (1881).

CITIES.	Population at the Adoption of the Constitution, 1789.	Population at Present Time, 1881.	CITIES.	Population at the Adoption of the Constitution, 1789.	Population at Present Time, 1881.
Albany, N. Y.....	3,498	87,584	Newark, N. J.	0,000	186,400
Allegheny, Penn.....	* 2,301	78,472	New Haven, Ct.....	0,000	62,882
Baltimore, Md.....	13,503	332,190	New Orleans, La.....	5,500	215,239
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1,603	566,689	New York, N. Y.....	33,131	1,206,577
Buffalo, N. Y.....	0,000	149,500	Paterson, N. J.....	0,000	50,887
Cambridge, Mass.....	2,115	52,740	Philadelphia, Pa.....	42,520	846,980
Chicago, Ill.....	0,000	503,053	Pittsburg, Pa.....	*1,000	153,883
Cincinnati, O.....	1,800	255,809	Providence, R. I. .	6,380	104,852
Cleveland, O.....	*2,780	155,916	Richmond, Va.....	3,761	64,670
Columbus, O.....	*846	51,337	Rochester, N. Y.....	0,000	87,057
Detroit, Mich.....	0,000	116,027	St. Louis, Mo.....	0,000	350,522
Indianapolis, Ind.....	0,000	75,031	San Francisco, Cal....	0,000	233,066
Jersey City, N. J.....	*1,024	120,728	Syracuse, N. Y.....	0,000	51,791
Kansas City, Kan.....	0,000	55,813	Toledo, O.....	0,000	51,143
Louisville, Ky.....	200	126,566	Troy, N. Y.....	0,000	56,747
Lowell, Mass.....	*1,200	59,485	Washington, D. C....	*2,564	147,307
Milwaukee, Wis.....	0,000	115,712	Worcester, Mass.....	*1,347	58,295

* Not a city.

SECTION V.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON.

1809—1817.

From the summit of a peak in the Blue Ridge Mountains, in Virginia, may be seen the former homes of three Presidents of the United States whose careers commenced in Revolutionary times: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe.

Madison, the subject of this brief sketch, was born on the banks of the Rappahannock. He entered Princeton College in the spring of 1773, but before he graduated, owing to impaired health, he left college.

After a short rest he commenced the study of law, but was soon diverted to public employments.

In 1776 he was chosen a member of the Convention that framed the first Constitution of Virginia. In the same year he was elected to the State Legislature. He was a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and was the chief instrument in procuring its ratification by the Legislature of Virginia. He was one of the first Representatives of Virginia in the Federal Congress; was Secretary of State under Jefferson; elected President in 1808; and re-elected in 1812. He died in June, 1836, at the age of 85 years.

POLITICAL EXCITEMENT—CLAY AND CALHOUN.

During the administration of James Madison, the prevailing political excitement of the country was the prospect of a war with England. The Federalists opposed the war, while the Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, believed that our only way to improve the sanitary condition of England was to give her a heavy dose of blue pills dug from the lead mines of America.

Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were prominent leaders of the so-called War Party. The former of these gentlemen,

HENRY CLAY,

was a native of Virginia, born in 1777. In early life he was copyist in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Chancery. At the age of 19 he commenced the study of law ; was admitted to practice at the age of 20, and admitted to the Kentucky Bar at Lexington, whence he had removed, at the age of 22. He was Anti-Slavery in his sentiments, and worked hard to elect delegates to the Convention for revising the Constitution of Kentucky, who would favor a clause emancipating the slaves. In 1803 he was elected to the Legislature of Kentucky. In 1806, and again in 1809, was chosen to the United States Senate to fill vacancies. In 1811 he was elected United States Representative, and, upon the organization of the House, was chosen Speaker. In 1814 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain. He was Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams. He was United States Senator from Kentucky from 1831 to the close of his

life. He was the Republican candidate for President in 1832, and the candidate of the Whigs for President in 1844.

He died at Washington, June 29, 1852.

JOHN C. CALHOUN

was a native of South Carolina, born in 1782. He was educated at Yale College, and graduated from that institution in 1804. He studied law at Litchfield, Connecticut, and on admission to the bar, commenced practice in his native district.

He was soon after elected a member of the Legislature of his State. In 1811 he was elected Representative in the Congress of the United States, and was made Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He advocated the war of 1812, internal improvements, the establishment of a United States Bank, and the protective tariff of 1816.

In 1817 he was appointed Secretary of War. He was Vice-President of the United States, in John Quincy Adams's administration, and again Vice-President during the first term of Jackson's administration. He resigned in 1832, and was soon after elected to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate. He continued to represent South Carolina in the United States Senate until 1843, when he declined a re-election. In 1844 he was appointed Secretary of State by John Tyler. In 1845 he returned, by the choice of his State, to the Senate of the United States, where he remained until his death in 1850.

Calhoun advocated nullification, and was supposed to be the author of it ; he was a strong advocate of slavery.

He was thought to be the author of the scheme to annex Texas. He, however, opposed the Mexican War. His powers of oratory consisted in the plainness of his propositions, the closeness of his logic, and the earnestness and energy of his manner.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. What was the length of Madison's administration?
2. Who were the Vice-Presidents during this administration?
3. Name the Cabinet officers of Madison's administration.
4. What Cabinet officers under Jefferson were re-appointed by Madison?
5. What one held his office for thirteen years?
6. Which officer held his office during the entire term of both administrations?
7. What office did he hold?
8. How long was John Marshall Chief Justice?
9. What proclamation was issued in 1809?
10. When was the ratio of representation fixed at 35,000?
11. What issue and what loan were authorized in 1813?
12. What loan in 1814?
13. What issue and loan in 1815?
14. When was the first protective tariff enacted?
15. When was the second United States Bank chartered? For how long? With what capital?

LESSON II.

PARTY ISSUES.

See Diagram.

1. What act was advocated by the Democratic Republicans in 1809?

2. What act was opposed by the Republicans in 1811?

3. For what act, opposed by the Federals of 1812, were the Republicans held responsible?

4. What act, recommended by the President and passed by Congress, was opposed by the Federals in 1816?

5. In the same year what act was passed by Congress, advocated by Republicans, and opposed by the Federals?

6. State the issues of 1812 which gave rise to the Clintonian Party?

7. What subjects were advocated by the Hartford Convention?

8. What was Madison's Electoral vote at his first election? What at his second?

LESSON III.

MADISON'S POLICY—DIPLOMACY—NATIONAL BANK—THIRD EMBARGO—ELECTION, 1812—CLINTONIANS—WAR OF 1812.

1. What is said of Madison's policy?

2. What controversy came down from the preceding administration?

3. What British order was adhered to, and what was authorized by France?

4. Give an account of the treaty concluded with the British Minister, and what was done with it.

5. What proposals were made to England and France in 1810?

6. What was done toward rechartering the National Bank?

7. When was the third Embargo Act passed, and for what length of time?

8. Give an account of the political issues of 1812.

9. Give an account of the origin and course pursued by the Clintonians.

10. State the causes of the war of 1812.

11. When was the war declared, and what sections of the country favored it? What sections opposed it?

12. State the efforts made to secure peace with Great Britain, and when was the treaty of peace signed?

LESSON IV.

FEDERAL OPPOSITION TO THE WAR—PEACE PARTY—
BLUE LIGHT TELEGRAPH—HARTFORD CONVENTION—
DEATH OF THE FEDERAL PARTY—NATIONAL BANK—
PROTECTIVE TARIFF—ELECTION OF 1816.

1. State briefly the Federal opposition to the war.

2. What was the object of the Peace Party, professedly? What its ulterior purpose?

3. How were the ships of the enemy informed when American vessels put to sea?

4. Give an account of the Hartford Convention.

5. Give an account of the death of the Federal Party.

6. Give a statement of the National Bank charter of 1816.

7. What was especially urged upon Congress in Madison's seventh Annual Message?

8. Were his recommendations heeded by Congress? What political party opposed, and what favored the bill?

9. State the method of the Republicans to strengthen their position.

10. Who defended the measure? Who opposed it?

11. State the opposition to caucus nominations in 1816.

12. Who were nominated by the Republicans? Who by the Clintonians, and a remnant of the Federals?

13. State the opposition to the nomination of Monroe. What was his majority of the Electoral votes?

POST OFFICE STATISTICS AT DECADES FROM 1790 TO 1870.

American Almanac, by Ainsworth R. Spofford. (By permission.)

Years.	No. Post Offices.	Extent of Post Routes in Miles.	Revenue of the Department.	Expenditure of Department.	Annual Salaries of Postmasters.	Cost of Mail Transportation.
1790	75	1,875	\$37,935	\$32,140	\$8,198	\$22,081
1800	903	20,817	280,804	213,994	69,243	128,640
1810	2,300	36,406	551,684	495,969	149,438	327,966
1820	4,500	72,492	1,111,927	1,160,926	352,295	782,425
1830	8,450	115,176	1,850,583	1,932,708	595,234	1,274,000
1840	13,468	155,739	4,453,522	4,718,236	1,028,925	3,296,876
1850	18,417	173,672	5,552,971	5,912,953	1,549,376	2,965,786
1860	28,493	240,594	8,518,067	19,170,610	2,552,868	8,808,710
1870	28,492	231,232	19,772,221	23,998,837	4,673,466	10,884,653

SECTION VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

• 1817—1825.

James Monroe was a native of Virginia, born in 1758. He was educated at William and Mary's College. On leaving college he hastened to the headquarters of Washington at New York, and enrolled himself to defend the liberties of his country. He tasted of war at Harlem and White Plains, and accompanied Washington in his return across New Jersey. Having been appointed Lieutenant, he was in the van of the battle at Trenton and was severely wounded. For his gallant service he was promoted to captaincy.

He was aid to Lord Sterling during the campaign of 1777 and 1779.

He was elected to the Virginia Legislature in 1782; elected to the General Congress in 1783; and in 1785 was leader of the movement which led to the Constitutional Convention. Although after the Constitution was framed, he, with Patrick Henry and others, opposed its ratification, yet he was one of the first to represent Virginia in the Federal Congress. He was sent as minister to the French Court in 1794; elected Governor of Virginia in 1798; and in 1801 was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to act with M. Livingston at the Court of Napoleon.

He was re-elected Governor of Virginia in 1811, but resigned to accept the appointment of Secretary of State under Madison.

In 1816, he was elected President, and re-elected in 1820. Monroe was a man of plain, unaffected manners and unquestioned purity and honesty. Though not brilliant as a public officer, he possessed robust and useful qualities, so blended with the elements of human kindness and a love of country that he was beloved by all classes and all parties. He died on the 4th of July, 1831.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. What was the length of Monroe's administration?
2. Who was Vice-President?
3. Name Monroe's Cabinet during his first term.
4. What Cabinet officers held their offices during the entire administration?
5. Who was Postmaster General?
6. Who were Associate Judges during this administration?
7. When was internal tax abolished?
8. What rearrangement of the national flag was made in 1818?
9. When was the ratio of representation fixed at 40,000?
10. When was the independence of South American republics acknowledged?

LESSON II.

ISSUES ADVOCATED—ERA OF GOOD FEELING.

See Diagram of Political Parties in Monroe's Administration.

1. What issue was advocated in 1817?
 2. Who was Vice-President?
 3. When was Florida purchased?
 4. When was the Missouri compromise passed?
 5. When was the Monroe Doctrine announced?
 6. What old political issues ceased at the beginning of Monroe's administration?
 7. What doctrines did Monroe adopt?
 8. Who were leaders of the new school Republicans?
 9. What was the effect of the election of 1816 upon the Clintonian faction?
 10. What added to the political peace during this administration?
 11. By what designation is the whole of Monroe's administration known?
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LESSON III.

JACKSON'S ADVICE—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—FLORIDA
CESSION—MISSOURI QUESTION.

1. What did General Jackson advise?
2. What view did Monroe take?
3. State the substance of Monroe's Inaugural on the subject of internal improvements, and the discussions in the Fifteenth Congress on that subject.

4. What did the treaty ceding Florida to the United States provide? And what were the objections? Was the treaty ratified?

5. What was the Missouri compromise?

6. State the arguments in the debates, both for and against the proviso.

7. On what terms was Missouri admitted?

8. When was the bill passed to admit Missouri?

9. State the last struggle on the Missouri question? When did it become a State?

LESSON IV.

ELECTION OF 1820—REPUBLICANS UNOPPOSED—THE MONROE DOCTRINE—PROTECTIVE TARIFF—DEMOCRATIC ELECTION OF 1824—PEOPLE'S PARTY—MONROE'S RETIREMENT.

1. State the substance of the course pursued in the election of 1820, and the results of the Presidential election?

2. Give the status of political parties at the beginning of this administration?

3. Give the language of the Monroe Doctrine as announced in his Message of 1823.

4. What called out the Doctrine? What was the final result?

5. State the arguments advanced in favor of the Protective Tariff Bill passed by the Eighteenth Congress, and state who was the champion of the system, and who of the opposition.

6. What is said of the term Democratic?
 7. Who were Presidential nominees in 1824, and how were they nominated?
 8. Why was Crawford's nomination unpopular? What of the canvass?
 9. What was the result of the election?
 10. Whom did the House of Representatives elect as Chief Magistrate?
 12. Give the origin of the People's Party.
 13. Give a summary of the work of Monroe's administration.
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THE STANDARD SILVER DOLLAR.

The balance of exchanges in the precious metals, which had been steadily against the United States ever since 1861, was changed during 1879-1880. The imports of gold and silver coin and bullion from July 1, 1879, to July 1, 1880, amounted to \$75,891,391.

The standard silver dollar was authorized to be coined by an Act of Congress passed April 2, 1792. The weight was fixed at 416 grains, standard silver; fineness 892.4; equivalent to $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of fine silver, with $44\frac{3}{4}$ grains alloy of pure copper.

The weight was changed by the Act of January 18, 1837, to $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and fineness changed to 900, preserving the same amount of pure silver, viz., $371\frac{1}{4}$, with one-tenth alloy of pure copper.

The coinage was discontinued by the Act of Feb. 12, 1873. Total amount coined from 1792 to 1873 was \$8,045,838. By the Act of Feb. 28, 1878, the coinage was revised, and \$2,000,000 was required to be coined.

Between Feb. 28, 1878, and Dec. 1, 1880, \$75,147,750 was coined.

SECTION VII.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

1825—1829.

John Quincy Adams was a native of Massachusetts, son of the second President of the United States, himself the sixth President. He was born in 1767. Much of his boyhood was spent in Europe. At the age of fourteen he was sent to the University of Leyden, where he remained about three years. Returning home at the age of seventeen, he entered Harvard University and graduated in 1788.

In 1791 he was admitted to the bar.

From 1794 to 1797 he was Minister to Hague. From 1797 to 1801 he was Minister to Berlin.

In 1802 he was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts. In 1803 he was chosen United States Senator. He acted with the Federalists for four years, but on the question of the Embargo, introduced by Jefferson, he separated from the Federalists, and in 1808 resigned his seat.

He was for a few years Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard University. In 1809 he was appointed Minister to Russia. In 1814 he was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate the treaty of peace with Great Britain.

From 1815 to 1817 he was Minister to England.

From 1817 to 1825 he was Secretary of State.

In 1824, Adams, Jackson, Crawford, and Clay, all Democratic Republicans, were nominated as candidates for President. Adams received 84 electoral votes, Jackson 99, Crawford 41, and Clay 31.

Neither of the candidates having received the requisite number of Electoral votes, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to make choice of the President from the three highest on the list. On the 9th of February, 1825, the Representatives took their seats by States as their names were called. The Senate came in after the Representatives were seated, and occupied seats prepared and reserved for them. The Vice-President presided, occupying the chair of the Speaker of the House.

It was known that the members from New York were divided, and it was doubtful how the State would vote.

Louisiana was also divided. Of her three Representatives one was in favor of Jackson, one of Crawford, and the third was willing to accept the candidate on which the other two could agree. Henry Clay by his influence controlled the vote of Kentucky. Clay, a few days before, visited Crawford, who was suffering from a paralytic stroke, and was persuaded that he was not able to perform the duties of President if elected. Clay was not a Jackson man, as seen in his manner of arraigning Jackson's conduct of the Seminole campaign, hence it was but reasonable to expect that he would give his influence to Adams. At that time the Union consisted of twenty-four States. On the first ballot Adams received the votes of thirteen States, and Jackson of eleven. Adams was declared elected, and served one term of four years.

Subsequently he was elected United States Representative from Massachusetts, and served seventeen successive years. He died at Washington in 1849.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. State the date of the beginning and end of the administration.

2. Name the Cabinet.

3. What Cabinet officer of this administration held the same office during the entire administration of Monroe?

4. What two held their respective offices during this and the last term of Monroe's administration?

5. Who was Vice-President?

6. Which Cabinet officer was Speaker of the House during the last term of Monroe's administration.

7. What sad providential event took place on the fifteenth anniversary of American Independence?

8. What were the issues advocated in 1825 and 1826?

See diagram of Parties.

9. What in 1828, causing a division of the party?

LESSON II.

PRESIDENT'S POLICY—OPPOSITION—PANAMA MISSION—
GEORGIA CONTROVERSY—DIVISION OF REPUBLICAN
PARTY—TARIFF OF 1828.

1. State the President's policy.
 2. What was the effect of his attempted conciliatory course in the appointment of subordinate officers?
 3. How did the opposition show itself in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Congresses?
 4. State the object of the Panama Mission.
 5. What discussion did the bill authorizing the mission introduce?
 6. State the substance of the controversy with Georgia.
 7. What is said of the disaffection in the Republican ranks?
 8. What were the duties imposed by the tariff of 1824?
 9. What was the effect of the attempt to amend the tariff in 1828?
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LESSON III.

ELECTION OF 1828—ANTI-MASONIC PARTY—DEMOCRATIC
PARTY—NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY—OTHER MEASURES.

1. When did the canvass for the Presidential election of 1832 begin?
2. Who were the candidates, and how nominated?
3. State the origin of the Anti-Masonic Party, and what was the object of the party.

4. Give the origin of the modern Democratic Party.
5. What was claimed by this party organization?
6. What name was assumed by the adherents of Adams?
7. What was claimed in regard to the political faith of the National Republican Party?
8. What other measures were attempted?

CONGRESS.

A Congress embraces two years, and consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

OFFICERS OF CONGRESS.

The officers of Congress are Librarian of Congress and Public Printer.

SENATE.

Senators are elected for six years, one-third of the Senate retiring on the 4th of March each alternate year. The salary of a Senator is \$5,000 per annum. In addition he is allowed 20 cents per mile for travel each way at each annual session, and \$125 per annum for stationery and newspapers.

OFFICERS OF SENATE.

The principal officers of the Senate are President, Chaplain, Secretary, Chief Clerk, Principal Executive Clerk, Principal Legislative Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, Postmaster, Superintendent of Folding Room, and Superintendent of Document Room.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

A Representative is elected for two years. He has the same salary and the same allowances as a Senator.

OFFICERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The principal officers of the House are Speaker, Chaplain, Clerk of the House, Chief Clerk, Librarian, Superintendent of Upper Document Room, Sergeant-at-Arms, Doorkeeper, Superintendent of Folding Room, Superintendent of Lower Document Room, Postmaster, and Stenographer.

SECTION VIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

1829—1837.

“Ask nothing but what is right, submit to nothing wrong,” was Jackson’s political maxim. He was born in North Carolina in 1767; joined the patriot army at the age of fourteen, which he was influenced to do by the massacre of Ruford’s regiment at Wereham, South Carolina, by the fiery Tarlton. He studied law, and was admitted to practice in 1786. Soon after he was appointed Solicitor of West Tennessee, where he led the somewhat romantic career of attorney, judge, legislator, and military commander. In 1790 assisted to form the State Constitution of Tennessee, and was elected the first representative in Congress from that State. He was elected United States Senator in 1797, and soon after appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. He entered the army in 1813, and was made Major-General in 1814. Engaged in a successful campaign against the Indians in 1818; appointed Governor of Florida by Monroe in 1821; elected President in 1828, and re-elected in 1832. Energy was a prominent trait of his character. After his second Presidential term he retired to his home near Nashville, and died Sunday, the 8th of June, 1836.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. State the length of Jackson's administration.
 2. When was Jackson inaugurated President?
 3. Name his Cabinet during his first term of office.
 4. Name the Cabinet during his second term.
 5. Who was Chief Justice during his administration?
 6. When was Roger B. Taney appointed Chief Justice?
 7. Who were the Associate Judges?
 8. Who was Vice-President during Jackson's first term?
 9. Who during his second term?
 10. What addition was made to the President's Cabinet at the beginning of his administration?
-

LESSON II.

ISSUES OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

♦ *See colored streams representing Political Parties.*

1. What were the issues of the parties in 1829?
2. What was the issue of the Democratic Party in 1832?
3. What were the issues of the National Republicans in 1832?
4. What of the Democrats in 1833?
5. What of the National Republicans?
6. What of the Democrats in 1834?
7. What in 1835?
8. What in 1836?
9. What was Jackson's Electoral vote? What his popular vote?

LESSON III.

JACKSON'S INAUGURAL — BANK REMOVALS — WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE.

1. What was Jackson's policy as indicated in his Inaugural?
2. The constitutionality of what act was questioned by the President?
3. What removals were made, and what was Jackson's reasons for doing it?
4. What was thought of this proscription policy?
5. State the substance of the debate by Hayne, of South Carolina, called out by the introduction of Mr. Foot's resolution in 1829.
6. Who replied? What did he deny, and what did his arguments favor? What title did this debate win for Webster?

DANIEL WEBSTER.

A Southern member of Congress, in 1813, said of Daniel Webster: "The North has not his equal, nor the South his superior."

Webster was a native of New Hampshire, born in 1782. He was educated at Dartmouth College, which he entered at the age of fifteen. During his college course he showed no special promise of future greatness.

There is a reason for this aside from the fact that his mind may have matured slowly. He was too young to show extraordinary power in grappling with the intricate

branches of a college curriculum. He was associated with older minds, the fibers of whose brain had had time to harden, and in class comparisons his age would not come in as a consideration.

He was admitted to the bar in 1805, at the age of twenty-three. He was elected United States Representative from New Hampshire in 1812, and in June, 1813, made his first speech. He was re-elected in 1814.

In 1821 he assisted in revising the Constitution of Massachusetts, to which State he had previously removed.

In 1822 he was elected United States Representative from Boston; re-elected in 1824; chosen to the United States Senate from Massachusetts in 1826, in which body he held a front rank for twelve years.

He was Secretary of State under Harrison, and also under Fillmore. His great speech for the Union was made in 1850.

Webster was one of the first, if not *the* first forensic speaker of his generation. He had a profound knowledge of the law, and in his pleas was able to control a jury as no other attorney could control them. In his legal practice, he made it a principle not to be retained in a suit unless he could see justice or equity on the side he was engaged to defend. This principle, connected with his mental ability and legal acumen, placed him at the head of his profession. He died October 24, 1852.

LESSON IV.

JACKSON AND CALHOUN—NULLIFICATION PARTY—LAND PROCEEDS—VICTORS AND THE SPOILS—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS — ATTEMPT TO RECHARTER THE NATIONAL BANK.

1. What course did Calhoun pursue with the hope of becoming Jackson's successor?
2. What was the result of his course?
3. What was the origin of the Nullification Party?
4. What attempt was made concerning the proceeds from the sale of public lands in 1832?
5. What bill originating in the Senate became a law during the same year?
6. What sentiment originating with William L. Marcy in 1832, became a maxim of the Democratic Party?
7. What course did the National Republicans pursue concerning it?
8. What was done with the Internal Improvement bill?
9. What was the fate of the Harbor bill?
10. What was one of the leading issues of the National Republican and Whig parties at that time?
11. What became of the bill for rechartering the National Bank?

LESSON V.

TARIFF OF 1832—ELECTION OF 1832.

1. What did the tariff of 1832 provide?
 2. What opposition did it meet with?
 3. When, where, and by what party was the first National Convention held?
 4. When and where did the party meet to nominate Presidential candidates?
 5. Whom did they nominate?
 6. When and where did the National Republicans hold a National Convention? Who were the nominees?
 7. When did the party adopt its first platform?
 8. State the important points in that platform.
 9. When and where did the Democrats hold their Convention? Who were chosen candidates?
 10. State the origin of the "two-thirds rule." With what party did it originate?
 11. Who were the Nullification candidates, and how chosen?
 12. Who were elected, and by what majority of Electoral votes?
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LESSON VI.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY—NULLIFICATION ORDINANCE—
TARIFF OF 1833—REMOVAL OF DEPOSITS—STATE
BANKS—SUB-TREASURY.

1. When, and with what object in view, was the Anti-Slavery Society formed?
2. After the Tariff Bill of 1832 was passed, what course did the Congressmen from South Carolina pursue?

3. State the course pursued by a convention of the people of South Carolina.

4. What was the course of President Jackson relative to the edicts of this convention?

5. State the effect of this proclamation on the people at large, and upon South Carolina.

6. Describe the Tariff of 1833.

7. State the course pursued by the President to remove the deposits, how it was accomplished, and what was the effect of the course upon the President's political opponents.

8. What party favored, and what party opposed placing the deposits in State Banks?

9. What did the Whigs and those opposing the administration advocate as a substitute for State Banks?

LESSON VII.

THE WHIG PARTY—LOCOFOCOS—ANTI-SLAVERY MAIL—
TEXAS—RIGHT OF PETITION—SPECIAL CIRCULAR—
ELECTION OF 1836.

1. State the political excitement caused by the removal of the deposits.

2. Of whom was the Whig Party composed?

3. What party was organized in 1835?

4. State the proceedings of the first meeting, and what circumstance gave the party the name Locofocos.

5. What course was pursued by the President in 1835 relative to the mails?

6. What occurred in 1836 relative to Texas? Who opposed the measure?

7. What occurred in 1836 relative to the Right of Petition?

8. What was done to prevent the accumulation of paper money?

9. What was done in 1835 respecting the "two-thirds rule"?

10. Whom did the Democrats nominate? What was done by the Locofocos in 1836?

11. Who were nominated by the Whigs? What resolutions were adopted?

12. What was done by the Anti-Masons?

13. Who else were nominated?

14. Who were elected?

ANTIQUITY OF AMERICA.

Geology reveals the fact that America precedes Europe in rising above the primeval seas. America is, therefore, in reality, the "OLD WORLD."

In the Museum of Rio Janeiro are brass tablets covered with Phœnician inscriptions which were found in Brazil. These inscriptions show that *the Phœnicians were in America 500 years B. C.*

Near Montevideo, South America, there was found a flat stone; beneath the stone was a vault, in which were found two swords, a shield, and a hemlet. On the stone was the following inscription in Greek characters: "During the dominion of Alexander, the son of Philip, King of Macedon, in the Sixty-third Olympiad." On the helmet Achilles is represented as dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy. On the handle of one of the swords is a portrait of Alexander. These records indicate that *the Greeks were in America between 300 and 400 years B. C.*

Chinese official annals affirm that Hoel Shin, a Chinese priest, visited America A.D. 500.

Irish records claim that the Irish were in America A.D. 800.—*See Houghton's Chart of U. S. History.*

SECTION IX.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.

1837—1841.

Martin Van Buren was a native of New York, born in 1782. He was educated at the Academy of Kinderhook, and commenced the study of law at the age of thirteen. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one, appointed Surrogate of Columbia County, New York, in 1808, elected to a seat in the State Senate in 1812, appointed Attorney General of the State of New York in 1815, chosen United States Senator in 1821, re-elected in 1827, but resigned to accept the office of Governor of New York, to which he had been chosen to fill the place made vacant by the death of DeWitt Clinton.

He was appointed Secretary of State in 1829, and was appointed Minister to England in 1831. In 1832 he was elected Vice-President, and President in 1836, which office he held during one Presidential term.

When civil war broke out in 1861, Van Buren expressed himself decidedly in favor of the Union.

He died July 24, 1862.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. Give the dates of the beginning and close of Van Buren's administration.
 2. Name his Cabinet.
 3. Who of his Cabinet officers were reappointed from the preceding administration?
 4. Name the Chief Justice.
 5. Name the Associate Judges.
 6. Who was Vice-President?
 7. Who were Speakers of the House?
 8. What issue of Treasury notes was authorized in 1837?
 9. What did the President enjoin in 1838?
 10. When was the Sub-Treasury Bill passed?
-

LESSON II.

PARTY ISSUES.

See Diagram of Parties.

1. What issue was advocated by the Democrats in 1837?
2. What advocated by the Whigs in 1837?
3. What was advocated by the Democrats in 1840?
4. What were opposed?
5. What political party was organized in 1840?
6. What was the main issue of the party?

7. When did the adherents to the Anti-Slavery Society assume a political Status?

8. What was Van Buren's Electoral vote? What his popular vote?

LESSON III.

VAN BUREN'S POLICY—PANIC OF 1837—EXTRA SESSION—
SUB-TREASURY—STATE BANK DEPOSITORIES—ANNEXA-
TION OF TEXAS—RIGHT OF PETITION.

1. What policy did Van Buren adopt?
2. What caused the financial panic of '37?
3. State the effects of the panic.
4. What induced Van Buren to call an extra session of Congress?
5. What did the President recommend in the place of the State Banks for the Treasury deposits?
6. Give, in brief, the opposition to the Sub-Treasury Bill.
7. When did the bill become a law?
8. State the course pursued by the Whigs in regard to the use of State banks as places of deposit of public funds, and the grounds on which they justified their course.
9. Were the Democrats involved in similar inconsistencies?
10. What is said of the Annexation of Texas?
11. Give a statement of the course pursued relative to the right of petition.

LESSON IV.

ABOLITION PARTY—LIBERTY PARTY—ELECTION OF 1840
—DIVORCE OF BANK AND STATE.

1. State the cause of the organization of the Abolition Party, and when it was organized.
2. What of the Liberty Party?
3. Whom did the Liberty Party nominate in 1840?
4. Whom did the Whigs nominate in 1839, as the candidates for 1840?
5. Whom did the Democrats nominate in 1840?
6. Give an account of the canvass by the Whigs.
7. What won for Harrison the popular feeling?
8. What acted to defeat Van Buren?
9. What was Harrison's majority of the Electoral votes.
10. How was the canvass designated?
11. What were the prominent characteristics of Van Buren's administration termed?

CERTAIN INVENTIONS.

- Horse shoes first made of iron A.D. 481.
The first pens made of quills A.D. 580.
Glass windows first used for lights A.D. 1180.
Coal first dug for fuel A.D. 1234.
Printing was invented A.D. 1436.
First book printed in England A.D. 1507.
Telescopes were invented A.D. 1549.
First newspaper printed A.D. 1629.
Circulation of blood discovered A.D. 1619.
The barometer was invented A.D. 1623.
The telegraph was invented by Morse A.D. 1832.
The first railroad in the United States was built in 1828.
First Atlantic Cable landed 1858.

SECTION X.

ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON AND JOHN TYLER.

1841—1845.

William Henry Harrison was a native of Virginia, born in 1773, and educated at Hampden-Sidney College. After completing his literary studies he commenced the study of medicine. His military tastes led him to leave his professional studies and accept an ensign's commission in the army from President Washington. He was made Lieutenant in 1792; distinguished himself in the contests with the Northwestern Indians in 1794; appointed Secretary of the Northwestern Territory in 1797; and was elected first delegate to Congress from the Territory in 1799. In 1801, when Indiana was made a separate Territory, he was appointed Chief Magistrate of that Territory and held the office until 1813. In 1811 he distinguished himself at the battle of Tippecanoe. In 1812 he was commissioned Major General in the Kentucky Militia. After the surrender of Hull at Detroit, he was appointed Major General in the army of the United States. He resigned his commission in 1814; in 1824 he was elected United States Senator; in 1828, appointed Minister to Colombia, and was elected President of the United States in 1840. On the 4th of April,

1841, just one month from the day of his inauguration, he died.

JOHN TYLER was a native of Virginia; born in 1790; graduated from William and Mary's College in 1807; admitted to the bar at the age of nineteen; elected to the Virginia Legislature in 1811; elected to Congress to fill a vacancy in 1816; elected Governor of Virginia in 1825; chosen United States Senator in 1827; and elected Vice-President in 1840.

On the death of President Harrison, in 1841, Tyler became President. He was President of the Peace Convention held in Washington during the late civil war. He died January 18, 1862.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. Give the date of the beginning and of the end of the administration.
2. Who was Vice-President?
3. Name the Cabinet officers and note the changes that took place during this administration.
4. Who were Presidents of the Senate in this administration? How long did each preside?
5. Who was Chief Justice?
6. Who were Associate Judges?
7. Who were Speakers of the House, and for what length of time did each serve?
8. What laws were repealed by Congress in 1841?
9. What loan was authorized?
10. What treaty was ratified in 1842?
11. What appropriation was made in 1843?

LESSON II.

ISSUES AND FACTIONS.

See Diagram of Parties.

1. What party came into power in 1841?
 2. What issue did the Whigs advocate in 1841?
 3. What did the Whigs advocate in 1844?
 4. What did the Democrats advocate as issues in 1844?
 5. What disaffection occurred in the Democratic Party in 1843?
 6. What political organizations grew out of it?
 7. Which of these factions returned to the regular party?
 8. What became of the Barnburners?
 9. Did any portion of this last mentioned faction return to the regular party, and when?
 10. What political organization was formed by a disaffected portion of the Whig Party in 1843?
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LESSON III.

WHIGS IN POWER—DEATH OF HARRISON—TYLER'S INAUGURAL—LIMITED VETO—SUB-TREASURY—NATIONAL BANK—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE WHIGS.

1. State prominent sentiments of Harrison's Inaugural.
2. When did Harrison die?
3. State points in Tyler's Inaugural?
4. What point advocated in Harrison's Inaugural became an issue of the Whigs after the break with Tyler?

5. What is said of the Sub-Treasury Bill?
 6. When did an extra session of Congress convene, and what did Tyler recommend in his formal Message?
 7. What did the Secretary of the Treasury submit to Congress, and what was the purport of it?
 8. What was done by Congress in reference to the Secretary's report?
 9. Did it become a law?
 10. What then was done by Congress? What happened to it?
 11. What was the effect of this second veto?
-

LESSON IV.

NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY—HUNKERS AND BARNBURNERS —ELECTION OF 1844—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

1. When was the Native American Party organized? What gave rise to it, and what were the leading objects?
2. Give the origin of the terms Hunkers and Barnburners.
3. In 1844 who were the Presidential candidates of the Liberty Party, and when made?
4. Did they adopt a platform?
5. Who were the candidates of the Whig Party, and when nominated?
6. Did they adopt a platform?
7. Who were nominated by the Democratic Party?
8. What platform did they reaffirm, and with what additions?
9. Were there any other candidates?

10. What was done by Polk, and what was the result?
 11. How were the Whigs divided?
 12. Who were elected, and by what majority of Electoral votes?
 13. When was Texas annexed? Who opposed? Who favored?
-

JUDICIARY OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Judiciary embraces the Supreme Court and the Inferior Courts. The Supreme Court, the highest judicial tribunal in the United States, is composed of a Chief Justice and nine Associate Justices. At its first session, in 1790, it consisted of a Chief Justice and five Associates. The number of Associates was increased to six in 1807; to eight in 1837; and increased to nine in 1863. The salary of the Chief Justice is \$10,500; that of each Associate, \$10,000. The officers of the Supreme Court are: a Clerk, who receives fees for his services; a Marshal, whose salary is \$3,000; and a Reporter, whose salary is \$2,500. There are nine Circuit Courts, each presided over by one of the Associate Justices, assisted by a Circuit Judge. Each Circuit embraces several District Courts; and the nine Circuits include the States of the Union. The First Circuit embraces the Districts of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. The Second embraces the Districts of Vermont, Connecticut, Northern New York, Southern New York, and Eastern New York. The Third embraces the Districts of New Jersey, East Pennsylvania, West Pennsylvania, and Delaware. The Fourth embraces the Districts of Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia (two Districts), North Carolina (two Districts), and South Carolina. The Fifth embraces Georgia (two Districts), Florida (two Districts), Alabama (three Districts), Mississippi (two Districts), Louisiana (three Districts). The Sixth Circuit embraces the Districts of Ohio (two Districts), Michigan (two Districts), Kentucky, Tennessee (three Districts). The Seventh embraces the Districts of Indiana, Illinois (two), Wisconsin (two). The Eighth embraces Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri (two), Kansas, Arkansas (two), Nebraska, and Colorado. The Ninth Circuit embraces the Districts of California, Oregon, and Nevada. The Judiciary embraces also the United States Court of Claims, the local Courts of the Districts of Columbia, and the Territorial Courts.

SECTION XI.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK.

1845—1849.

James K. Polk was born in North Carolina, 1795, and was educated at the University of North Carolina. He has the reputation of having been a remarkably industrious student. He graduated at the end of his third year, with high honors, and was admitted to the bar in 1820; he was elected to the Legislature of Tennessee the same year; chosen representative to the United States Congress in 1825; and was elected Speaker of the House in 1835.

He was dignified and firm, and no annoyance could upset his equanimity. After a service in Congress of fourteen years he declined a re-election.

In 1839 he was elected Governor of Tennessee; was Vice-President for a small part of the term under Van Buren. In 1844 he was elected President. His administration was thought to be a strong one. It included the period of the Mexican war, the excitements incident to the boundary of Oregon, and the finding of gold in California. He died June 15, 1849.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. State the length of this administration?
2. Name the Cabinet, and time each official served.
3. Name the Chief Justice.

4. Name the Associate Justices.
 5. Name the Vice-President.
 6. The Speakers of the House.
 7. When was the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November fixed as the day for the Presidential Election?
 8. What treaty was made in the same year?
 9. What provision was made for carrying on the Mexican War in 1846?
 10. What treaties were ratified in 1848?
-

LESSON II.

PARTY ISSUES.

See Political Diagram.

1. What political party was in power?
 2. What were the issues of the Democrats in 1846?
 3. When did the Hunkers combine with the Democracy?
 4. When was the Liberty League Party organized?
 5. What political party was formed?
 6. From factions of what parties did it grow?
 7. State the issues of the Liberty League.
 8. State the issues of the Free Soil Party.
-

LESSON III.

POLK'S INAUGURAL—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—MEXICAN WAR—WILMOT PROVISIO—SUB-TREASURY—TARIFF—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—OREGON.

1. What is said of Polk's Inaugural?
2. What was the effect of the news of the action of Congress relative to the annexation of Texas, on Mexico?

3. What was done by the Congress of Texas ?
 4. When was Texas added to the United States ?
 5. How was the war with Mexico announced ?
 6. What was the Wilmot proviso, and how brought about ?
 7. Did it become a law ?
 8. What was done with the Sub-Treasury Bill in the Twenty-ninth Congress ?
 9. What was done with the tariff in 1846 ?
 10. What was done in reference to internal improvements in this administration ?
 11. State the facts respecting party lines on the Oregon question.
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LESSON IV.

LIBERTY LEAGUE—NOMINATIONS OF 1848—FREE-SOIL PARTY—CANVASS OF 1848.

1. State the origin and watchword of the Liberty League.
2. Who were Presidential nominees of the Liberty Party in 1848, and when were they nominated ?
3. Whom did the Liberty League nominate ?
4. State the dissensions in the Democratic Party, and the final result.
5. What was the effect of the nomination on the two factions of the party ?
6. Did the convention adopt a platform ?
7. Who were the nominees of the Whig Party ?
8. What is said of their platform ?
9. Give a history of the organization of the Free Soil Party. Who were chosen as their Presidential candidates ?

SECTION XII.

ADMINISTRATION OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE.

1849—1853.

Zachary Taylor was a native of Virginia, born in 1784. His father's family removed to Kentucky in 1785. Taylor entered the army at the age of twenty-four, as First Lieutenant of Infantry. He held a Captain's commission when the war of 1812 broke out, and was placed in command of Fort Harrison. For his gallantry and heroism in defence of the Fort, he was brevetted Major. At the close of the war, when the army was reduced, he was deprived of his majorship and reduced to Captain. His pride could not bear this indignity, and he left the service. Madison reinstated him Major and placed him in command at Green Bay. Here he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1832 Jackson commissioned him Colonel. He served under Scott in the Black Hawk war. He evinced superior generalship in his operations in Florida, and in 1837 was brevetted Brigadier-General. In the war with Mexico he gained the brilliant victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, which gave him renown as a military leader. In 1846 he gained the victory at Monterey. In 1847, he gained the great victory of Buena Vista over Santa Anna. In 1848 he was elected President of the United States. Died in July, 1850, sixteen months after his inauguration.

MILLARD FILLMORE

was a native of the State of New York, born in 1800. In his youth he learned the fuller's trade, and afterward taught school. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1823. He practiced law in Buffalo from 1830 to 1847, except when occupied in public life. In 1828 he was elected to the State Legislature by the Anti-Masons, and served until 1831. In 1832 he was elected on the Anti-Jackson ticket to Congress, and served one term. He was re-elected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In 1842 he declined a renomination. When in Congress he advocated internal improvements, was the chief author of the Protective Tariff of 1842, and was in favor of the abolition of the slave trade between the States, and of slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1847 he was chosen Comptroller of the State of New York. In 1848 was elected Vice-President of the United States. On the death of President Taylor he succeeded to the Presidency. By the signing of the Fugitive Slave Act, and a subsequent determination to enforce it, he lost the support of a large portion of his party in the Northern States. In 1850 he was the Presidential candidate of the American Party. He died in 1874.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. State the length of the administration by dates.
2. Name the Cabinet and the time each one served.
3. Who was Chief Justice?
4. Who were Associate Judges?
5. Who presided in the Senate?

6. Who were Speakers of the House?
7. When was the French Ambassador dismissed?
8. When was Webster's great speech delivered?
9. What treaties were ratified in 1850?
10. When was the cheap postage law enacted?
11. What was the ratio of representation in 1852?

LESSON II.

PARTY FACTIONS—PARTY ISSUES.

See Diagram of Parties.

1. What party came into power on the accession of Taylor to the Presidency?
2. What faction of the Whigs branched off in 1850?
3. A part of what faction of the Democrats returned to the main party in 1852?
4. During the latter part of Fillmore's administration what happened to the Whigs as a party?
5. What measures were advocated by the Whigs in 1852?
6. What new party was organized in 1852?
7. From what parties did it spring?
8. What party did it absorb entire?

LESSON III.

TAYLOR'S POLICY—GOVERNMENT FOR THE MEXICAN CESSION—OMNIBUS BILL—COMPROMISE MEASURES OF 1850.—FILLMORE'S ACCESSION AND SECESSION.

1. State the general points of Taylor's policy.
2. What rendered legislation on the government of the Mexican session difficult?

3. How was the difficulty adjusted?
 4. Describe in full the Omnibus Bill and its fate.
 5. Describe the compromise measures of 1850, and state how they were received by the leaders of the two great parties.
 6. Describe Fillmore's accession and secession.
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LESSON IV.

SILVER-GRAYS—AMERICAN PARTY—ELECTION OF 1852— DISSOLUTION OF THE WHIG PARTY.

1. Describe in full the origin of the Silver-Gray Party.
2. When was the American Party organized, and what was its professed object?
3. By what name was it generally known?
4. Who were the nominees of the Democrats in 1852, and how were they pledged?
5. Who were the Whig candidates, and wherein did they agree with the Democrats?
6. Whom did the Free Soil Party nominate, and what were their expectations and hopes?
7. Were the Democrats united or divided on their platform?
8. What prevented a vigorous canvass by the Whigs?
9. What was the result of the election?

SECTION XIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE.

1853—1857.

GENERAL FRANKLIN PIERCE

was a native of New Hampshire, born in 1804, and educated at Bowdoin College. During his first two years in college he was wild and reckless, but was extremely popular with his fellows, owing to his frank manners and generous disposition. During the last two years he was steady, industrious, and studious. In after life he himself attributed this change to the influence of Zenas Caldwell, a classmate, who took great interest in him.

Pierce was a classmate of Rev. Dr. Stowe, and of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the beautiful American prose writer.

He was admitted to the bar in 1827. From the first he was remarkably successful in the profession of law.

At the age of twenty-five he was elected to the State Legislature, and re-elected for three successive years.

In 1831 he was chosen Speaker of the Lower House of the Legislature, New Hampshire.

In 1831 he was elected United States Representative, and re-elected in 1833.

In 1837 he was chosen United States Senator. He resigned his seat in 1842. He volunteered in the Mexican war, when a requisition was made upon New Hampshire for a battalion of volunteers, and was appointed Colonel of the Ninth Regiment. Soon after was raised to Brigadier-General. He served until 1847, when he resigned.

In 1850 was elected member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of New Hampshire, and was chosen President of the Convention.

In 1852 he was the nominee of the Democratic Party for President of the United States, and received 254 Electoral votes out of 296 cast in the Electoral College. He died in 1869.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. When was Franklin Pierce elected President ?
What was the length of his administration ?
2. Name his Cabinet.
3. Who was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court ?
4. Who were Associate Judges ?
5. Who were the acting Presidents of the Senate, and for what time each ?
6. Who were Speakers of the House ?
7. What important bill was passed by Congress in 1854 ?
8. What treaties were ratified in 1854 ?
9. When did Brooks, of South Carolina, assault Senator Sumner ?
10. When was the British Envoy ordered to leave Washington ?

LESSON II.

PARTIES AND THEIR ISSUES.

See Party Diagram.

1. What bill was advocated by the Democratic Party in 1854 ?

2. What political party was formed in 1854 ?
 3. State the issues of the Democratic Party in 1856.
 4. What in 1857 ?
 5. When was the modern Republican Party organized ?
 6. It was a combination of what parties ?
 7. Did all factions of the Whig Party unite in its organization ?
 8. By what other parties were two factions absorbed ?
 9. Give the issues of the Republican Party in 1856.
 10. Give the issues of the American Party in 1856, also of the Silver-Grays.
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LESSON III.

PIERCE'S POLITICAL FAITH—KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL— TERRITORIAL LEGISLATION—TOPEKA CONSTITUTION.

1. What was Pierce's political faith in involuntary servitude ?
2. Who introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and what was its object ?
3. Who opposed it, and on what grounds ?
4. Give a full account of the proceedings in the Territorial legislation ?
5. What was done at a meeting of the inhabitants of Kansas in 1855 ?
6. How long did the civil war in Kansas continue ?
7. What was done by the State Legislature chosen at the election of January 15, 1856 ?
8. What is said of the two Legislatures ?

LESSON IV.

KANSAS WAR—LEGISLATION FOR KANSAS—ANTI-NEBRASKA—REPUBLICAN PARTY—ELECTION OF 1856.

1. What is said of the civil war in Kansas? Between what classes?

2. What Message was sent to Congress in 1856 by the President?

3. What was done in the Senate?

4. State the result of the visit of the committee to Kansas.

5. What was done with the bill to admit Kansas as a Free State?

6. What was the result of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise?

7. How was the proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise regarded in 1854?

8. State the origin of the modern Republican Party and the causes which led to it.

9. Of what political parties was it composed?

10. State the course of the American Party in 1856.

11. What was the course of the seceders? What name did they assume?

12. State the nominations of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

13. What was done by the Silver-Grays?

14. Between whom lay the contest, and who were elected?

SECTION XIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

1857—1861.

A native of Pennsylvania, James Buchanan was born in 1794. He was educated at Dickinson College; was admitted to the bar in 1812; elected to the State Legislature in 1814, and to Congress in 1821, where he remained ten years.

He was appointed Minister to Russia in 1831, and concluded the first commercial treaty between that country and the United States. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1833, and remained till 1845. In 1845 he became a member of the President's Cabinet (Secretary of State). He returned to private life in 1849.

In 1853 he was called again into public by the appointment of Minister to England.

He was elected President in 1856. His administration was distracted by the unsettled condition of Kansas, troubles with the Mormons, the John Brown affair, and the breaking out of secession.

In 1860, in his Message he expressed a hope that the results of these dissensions would be averted. He attributed the impending trouble to Northern agitation of the slavery question, and argued that Congress had no power to coerce a State into submission if it seceded. He held it to be the duty of the executive to see that the

laws are faithfully executed, but claimed that circumstances had put it out of his power to do it in South Carolina. He afterwards refused to treat with Commissioners from South Carolina for the delivery, to that State, of the Federal property within the limits of the State. He also refused to withdraw the United States troops from Charleston harbor.

In 1866 he published a book entitled "Buchanan's Administration."

He died in 1868.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS.

1. When was Buchanan inaugurated? What was the length of his administration?

2. Name his Cabinet, and point out the changes that took place in it.

3. Who was Chief Justice?

4. Name the Associate Judges.

5. What was the great financial event of 1857?

6. What are the important political events of 1858? When was the first, and when the second Atlantic Cable laid? *

7. At what was the ratio of representation fixed in 1860?

*CYRUS W. FIELD

is a native of Massachusetts, born at Stockbridge, November 30, 1819. He is the son of the late Rev. David Dudley Field, a distinguished clergyman of Massachusetts. His school education was obtained in the public

schools of his native county. At the age of fifteen he entered an enterprising mercantile house in New York city as a clerk. The evidence he gave, from the first, of unusual business capacity, influenced his employers to advance him rapidly, and in a few years he became a member of the firm. His success as a merchant was remarkable. In 1853 he retired from the mercantile business with what, in those days, was considered a large fortune, the substantial reward of indefatigable energies and eminent business ability. Exhausted by a close application to business, without any relaxation, Mr. Field resolved to seek recreation and change of scene in foreign travel. Leaving New York he spent six months in traveling through the mountain regions of South America. On his return home his active mind was restless and uneasy, and he determined to engage in a new field of enterprise.

About this time Mr. Field was introduced by his brother, a successful and well-known civil engineer, to Mr. F. N. Gisborne, of Newfoundland, who had come to New York to enlist capitalists in a company already chartered in Newfoundland, whose purpose was to transmit news from continent to continent with greater dispatch than could be done by the existing mode. The plan proposed telegraphic communication from New York to St. Johns, N. B., thence by rapid steamships to Liverpool, and telegraph from Liverpool to London. This could be effected in six days or less.

Mr. Field examined the route, and, while examining it, the idea flashed across his mind that a telegraph wire might be stretched across the ocean, and thus reduce the time of communication between the two continents from six days to less than one second. This was

the conception of that wonderfully great enterprise, the Atlantic cable telegraph.

Great enterprises require equally great efforts to accomplish them. In this enterprise the difficulties, at times, seemed insurmountable. It is doubtful whether there is another man in the Old or New World that would have surmounted them. It has been said that the greatest boons conferred on mankind are due to men of one idea. The author of this Hand-Book does not entertain that sentiment. Mr. Field is *not* a man of one idea, but of many. When he attempts the consummation of an object, he devotes himself, with gentle force and patient vigor, to that one idea, enriching his plans and efforts from a thousand others, until he converts all opposition, overcomes all indifference, and reaches a successful termination. The Atlantic cable has a core ; it has also an external protection. Speaking metaphorically, Mr. Field was, at one time, its core—its active life ; at another, its iron-bound guardian—its protection from utter failure. No man but himself can know the mountain of obstacles that were in his pathway, the billows of disheartening discouragements that were met, broken, and dashed aside. The first effort to lay the cable was a failure. The second was a failure, and disheartened every person interested financially in it except Mr. Field. His faith never wavered, his enterprising spirit knew no discomfiture. Success was the watchword on his banner, perseverance and energy, twisted together, like the strands of the cable, constituted the staff on which it rested, and an indomitable will was the arm that upheld and bore the staff onward. Up to the present time this is the great work of Mr. Field's life, and it is enough to render his name immortal for

all coming time. God only knows, however, what he may accomplish before he dies, for, in activity, energy, and perseverance, he is a young man yet—some men never grow old—and we hope and trust Mr. Cyrus West Field is one of that number.

LESSON II.

PARTY ISSUES.

See Diagram of Political Parties.

1. State an important political issue of 1857, advocated by the Democratic Party.
 2. State issues in the advocacy of which Douglas took a prominent part.
 3. State the issues of 1860, advocated by Beckenridge.
 4. State the issues taken and advocated by the Republicans in 1860.
 5. Give the points advocated by the American or Constitutional Union Party.
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LESSON III.

DRED SCOTT DECISION—LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION—
ENGLISH BILL—WYANDOT CONSTITUTION—JOHN
BROWN'S RAID—CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY.

1. Give a history of the Dred Scott case.
2. State when the Lecompton Constitution was formed.
3. What did legislation upon the subject result in?

4. What was done with it?
 5. Describe the Wyandot Constitution, and what was done in regard to it.
 - . Describe the John Brown raid, and its effect.
 7. What happened to the Constitutional Union Party? What took its place? What of the strength of the latter?
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LESSON IV.

ELECTION OF 1860—SECESSION.

1. Describe the course of the Constitutional Unionists in preparation for the election of 1860.
2. Describe that of the Republican Party.
3. Of the Democratic Party.
4. Describe the course of those who withdrew.
5. What was the course of the Convention at Richmond?
6. What was the result of the election?
7. What was the effect of the election of Lincoln on South Carolina?
8. What course was pursued by the Southern members in Congress?
9. What was the view of President Buchanan?
10. State the history of the secession of the States and the organization of the Confederacy.
11. What course was pursued in Congress?
12. What is said of political distinctions at the close of Buchanan's administration?

SECTION XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

1861—1865.

Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky, February 12, 1809.

His early life was, in many respects, eventful. As in the case of most self-made men, his efforts and struggles, doubtless, had much to do in bringing out the elements of uprightness and honesty which characterized his riper years.

His native goodness was shown in his love for his mother, whose excellent qualities of heart he inherited to a high degree. His mother said of him after his assassination: "Abe never gave me a cross word or look, and never refused to do anything I requested him."

A remarkably retentive memory characterized his early and maturer life. In 1825 we find him employed as a farm hand at six dollars per month, where he was plowman, ferryman, and hostler combined. Indeed he was man-of-all-work within doors and without doors.

He rose early, built fires, put on the water in the kitchen, and had things prepared for cooking before the mistress of the house was stirring. During that time it is said he read every night till midnight.

He was fond of music, but was unable to produce three harmonious notes.

In 1828 to 1830 we find him a boatman on the Mississippi at eight dollars per month.

His first public official act was in 1831, when he acted as clerk of the polls of election. The same year we find him clerk in a country store.

In 1832 he enlisted in the Black Hawk War, and was elected captain of a company. In the latter part of the same year he made his first stump speech in the following words : "Gentlemen, I presume you know me. I have been solicited, by my friends, to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank ; I am in favor of internal improvements, and a high protective tariff."

His election was defeated. In 1833 was appointed Postmaster in New Salem, Illinois. In 1834 he was a candidate the second time to the Illinois Legislature, and was elected ; was re-elected in 1836 and 1838. He was admitted to the bar in 1837. In 1847 he was elected representative in Congress.

He was a lawyer of some note, made his living by his practice, and his reputation as a politician. In 1852 he became an active advocate of abolition principles.

In 1860 he was elected President of the United States, and re-elected in 1864. He was assassinated on the 14th of April, 1865, by an obscure theatrical actor.

No calamity since the foundation of the government, up to that time, had affected the people of the United States so deeply as the sad event of President Lincoln's death.

The signs of mourning could be seen covering the entrance of every public structure; memorial services were held in almost every church-parish of the Northern States ; the church edifices were invariably draped in mourning.

The sentiments expressed in the closing sentence of his second Inaugural is a monument of the true nobleness of his heart and his distinguished magnanimity: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are engaged in—to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who may have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, and do all that we can to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS, DRAFTS, ETC.

1. When did Lincoln's administration begin?
 2. Name his Cabinet and the changes that took place.
 3. Name the Chief Justice up to 1864.
 4. Name the Associate Judges.
 5. Who was Vice-President during his first term?
- Who during his second term?
6. State the call of the President in 1861.
 7. When was slavery prohibited in the Territories?
 8. When was polygamy forbidden in the U. S.?
 9. When was the Union Pacific Railroad chartered?
 10. When was the Department of Agriculture organized?
 11. What draft was ordered in 1862, and what number of volunteers called and for what length of time?

LESSON II.

VOLUNTEERS, DRAFTS, AND POLITICAL ISSUES.

1. What Bureau was established in 1863?

2. What loan was authorized ?
3. What proclamations were issued in 1863 ?
4. What number of volunteers was called for in 1863 ?
5. When was the Fugitive Slave Law repealed ?
6. What draft was ordered in 1864, and what number of men was accepted from Governors of Western States ?

See Diagram of Parties.

7. What was advocated by the Republican Party in 1861 and in 1863 ?
 8. What were the issues of 1864 ?
 9. What were advocated by the Democrats in 1864 ?
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LESSON III.

INAUGURATION—PARTY ADJUSTMENT—THE WAR—OPPOSITION TO THE WAR—CURRENCY AND FINANCES.

1. Give an account of the inauguration of President Lincoln, and state points in his Inaugural Address.
2. Give an account of party adjustments.
3. When, and where, was the first gun of the civil war fired ?
4. What occurred on the 15th of April ?
5. Give the status of the States on the war.
6. State the efforts to encourage desertion from the army and protect deserters in the West.
7. What excited the worst opposition ? Where, and by what class of citizens ?
8. What was done with the "Habeas Corpus Writ" during the war ? Why ?
9. What loan was authorized in 1861 ?
10. What money issue in 1862 was authorized ?

11. What is said of other loans, and of the "greenbacks" ?

12. What of the opposition to the new currency ?

13. How were the loans authorized by Congress represented ? What did they constitute ?

14. How are the notes of the banks supplied ? How is the Government secured, and what is said of their exemption from tax ?

LESSON IV.

TARIFF AND INTERNAL REVENUE — EMANCIPATION —
NEGRO SOLDIERS — FREEDMEN'S BUREAU — RECON-
STRUCTION — ELECTION IN 1864 — ASSASSINATION OF
LINCOLN.

1. What required a revision of the tariff ?

2. When was the system of Internal Revenue created, and what was its object ?

3. Give an account of the Emancipation Proclamations.

4. When was the act authorizing the enlistment of colored troops passed ?

5. When was the act creating the Freedmen's Bureau passed, and what was its object ?

6. Give an account of the President's plan for readmitting the seceded States.

7. State the opposition to this plan.

8. Give an account of the nominations for 1864.

9. What were the results of the election ?

10. What was Lincoln's majority of Electoral votes ?

11. Give a brief account of the assassination.

SECTION XVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

1865—1869.

Andrew Johnson was a native of North Carolina, born in 1808. In his early life he was apprenticed a tailor, and his opportunities for school learning were somewhat limited.

In 1826 he removed to Greeneville, Tennessee, and worked at his trade.

In 1828 he was elected an alderman. In 1830 he was elected Mayor of Greeneville, which office he held until 1833. He took an active part in securing the adoption of the new Constitution of Tennessee. In 1835 and 1839 he was elected to the Lower House of the State Legislature. In 1841 he was elected to the State Senate. In 1843 he was elected representative to Congress, and by successive re-elections remained ten years.

He advocated annexation of Texas, war with Mexico, the tariff of 1846, and general retrenchment in the expenses of government.

He was Governor of Tennessee from 1853 to 1857. In 1857 he was chosen United States Senator, where he was a leading advocate of the Homestead Law. On slavery, though a Southern man, he held that it must be kept subordinate to the general government, at all hazards.

In 1860 he supported Breckenridge, but in a speech in the Senate he placed himself unreservedly on the side of the Union. In 1861, when the Legislature of Tennessee

“voted the State out of the Union,” Johnson returned home, and on account of his opposition to the course of the Legislature and his bold defense of the Union, he was, many times, in peril of his life. He took a prominent part in the East Tennessee Union Convention, and when the Unionists fled into Kentucky, Johnson met them there and used his influence with the general government for the establishment of Camp Dick Robinson. In this camp these refugees found shelter, food, and clothing. In 1862, President Lincoln appointed Johnson Military Governor of Tennessee. He was elected Vice-President in 1864, and became President in 1865, at the death of President Lincoln.

One of the first acts of his administration was to appoint a military commission for the trial of those concerned in the assassination of President Lincoln, and offered \$100,000 for the arrest of Jefferson Davis.

Johnson's policy of reconstruction was opposed by Congress. The opposition took somewhat of a personal turn when he vetoed the Civil Rights Bill, the Act for the Extension of the Freedmen's Bureau, and other bills, all of which were eventually passed over the veto. In 1868 the House of Representatives passed a resolution “that the President be impeached.” The articles of impeachment were sent to the Senate, and were based on the following specifications: “The removal of Stanton,” “Contempt for Congress,” for stating that “the Thirty-ninth Congress was not a Constitutional Congress, and for his hinderance of the execution of some of its acts.”

The President was acquitted. A two-thirds vote is necessary to convict. In 1875 he was chosen United States Senator from Tennessee, took his seat in March, and died in July of the same year.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS—BLOCKADE—LOANS—COST OF THE CIVIL WAR.

1. When did Johnson begin the administration of the government ?
 2. Name his Cabinet.
 3. Name the Chief Justice.
 4. Name the Associate Judges, and the acting President of the Senate.
 5. Who was Speaker of the House ?
 6. When was the blockade of the Southern ports removed ?
 7. What was the effect of the death of Lincoln on the nation ?
 8. What amount was subscribed to the 7.30 loan during the week ending May 13, 1865 ?
 9. What was the cost of the civil war ?
-

LESSON II.

AMENDMENTS—SOUTHERN STATES INTO MILITARY DISTRICTS—PARTY ISSUES.

1. What amendments to the Constitution were made during Johnson's administration ?
 2. What bills were passed in 1866 ?
 3. When were the Southern States organized into military districts ?
 4. What treaty was concluded in 1867 ?
- See Diagram of Parties.*
5. What issues were advocated by the Republicans in 1865 ?

6. What in 1868?
 7. What by the Democrats in 1868?
 8. When was the right to vote granted to Freedmen?
-

LESSON III.

JOHNSON'S ACTS AS PRESIDENT — RECONSTRUCTION — PARTY CHANGES — THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT — ENLARGEMENT OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU — CIVIL RIGHTS — FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

1. State prominent points in Johnson's Inaugural, setting forth his policy.

2. State Johnson's views of the condition of the seceded States.

3. What were the views of the Republicans?

4. What of the Democrats?

5. State the substance of the Reconstruction Bill of 1867.

6. Who opposed the measure?

7. What is said of party changes?

8. What was the object of the Thirteenth Amendment, and when did it go into force?

9. When was the bill to enlarge the power of the Freedmen's Bureau passed by Congress? What became of it?

10. Give an account of the Civil Rights Bill.

11. Give an account of the Fourteenth Amendment.

LESSON IV.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE—LIMITING THE PRESIDENT'S POWER—
REMOVAL OF STANTON—IMPEACHMENT—CONFEDERATE
—ELECTION IN 1868.

1. Give an account of the negro suffrage.
2. What did the antagonism between the President and the Republicans lead to?
3. State the points of the limitation of power of the President?
4. Give an account of the attempted removal and of the suspension of Secretary Stanton.
5. Give an account of the trial to impeach the President.
6. What is said of the Confederates?
7. Give an account of the Presidential nominations of 1868.
8. What were the issues in the contest?
9. Who were elected, and by what majority?

SECTION XVII.

ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

1869—1877.

Ulysses S. Grant is a native of Ohio, born at Point Pleasant, “à la belle rivière,” April 22, 1822. His parents named him Hiram Ulysses Grant ; but by the “overruling hand” of the official—not to say of Providence—who blunderingly made out the papers of his appointment to West Point, his name was inserted Ulysses S. Grant, and Ulysses S. it had to remain. He graduated in 1843, at the age of twenty-one years. His progress in his studies was steady, not rapid ; he was a solid student, but not brilliant. He was commissioned Lieutenant, and sent to the frontier of Missouri to aid in protecting the people from the invasions of the Indians.

In 1845 he was sent with his regiment to Corpus Christi, an important Texan post, where he engaged, for the first time, in battle.

He served in the Mexican Campaign, during which he was raised to Captain.

In 1854 he resigned and turned his attention to the pursuits of civil life.

At the breaking out of the rebellion he raised a company at Galena, Illinois, and marched with them to Springfield, and proffered himself and company to de-

fend the Stars and Stripes. Governor Yates, reading in his face and general demeanor his ability, secured his aid in the volunteer organization then forming.

In June, 1861, Governor Yates offered him the office of Colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois, which offer was accepted. In August, 1861, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

In the same year he seized Paducah, at the mouth of Tennessee River; Smithland, at the mouth of Cumberland River; and fought the battle of Belmont.

In 1862 he captured Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. In consequence of the brilliant and substantial victory of Fort Donelson, he was commissioned Major-General, and was given command of the Department of West Tennessee. In the same year (1862) he gained a victory at Iuka. In 1863 he defeated the enemy at Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill, and Big Black; laid the siege of Vicksburg, and received the city on surrender. As a reward for his ability and success, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General in the regular army, and placed in command of the military division of Mississippi. In the same year he carried, by assault, Missionary Bridge and Lookout Mountain. Congress gave expression to their appreciation of his military success, by ordering for him a gold medal, and by returning thanks to him and his army.

In 1862 the grade of Lieutenant-General was revived for him, at which time he was given command of the Army of the United States. He now planned two campaigns against the vital points of the Confederacy—one under his own direction against Richmond, the other under General Sherman against Atlanta.

In April, 1865, he gained the glorious victory of Five

Forks, immediately after which Richmond was evacuated by General Lee. Soon after Grant forced Lee to surrender at Appomattox Court House.

Grant was Secretary of War during the suspension of Stanton.

He was elected President of the United States in 1868, and re-elected in 1872.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS—FOREIGN MINISTER—RATIO OF REPRESENTATION—GENEVA TRIBUNAL—ATLANTIC CABLE.

1. When did Grant's administration begin?
2. How many terms did he serve?
3. Who was Vice-President during the first term?
4. Who during the second term?
5. Name Grant's Cabinet during his first term.
6. Name his Cabinet during his second term.
7. Name the Chief Justice and the Associate Judges.
8. Who were Speakers of the House?
9. In 1870 the recall of what Foreign Minister was requested? What proclamation was issued?
10. At what was the ratio of representation fixed in 1872?
11. To what number did it limit the Representatives?
12. What amount was awarded the United States by the Geneva Tribunal.
13. What decision was made in favor of the United States by Emperor William of Germany in 1872?
14. When was telegraphic connection between the United States and Europe completed?

15. What treaties were made in 1875 ?

16. When and for what appropriation was the Centennial Bill passed ?

17. What treaties in 1876 and 1877 ?

LESSON II.

ISSUES OF POLITICAL PARTIES—TEMPERANCE PARTY— NATIONAL PARTY.

See Party Diagram.

1. What faction of the Republicans branched off in 1870 ? What principles did it advocate ? What oppose ?

2. State an issue of the Republican Party in 1871.

3. State the issue in 1872.

4. What new parties were organized in 1872 ?

5. What principles were advocated by the Temperance Party ?

6. When did the Liberalists return to the main party ?

7. What were the issues of the Republican Party in 1875, and in 1876 ?

8. When did the Temperance Party change its name, and what were its political principles ?

9. When was the Labor Reform Party organized ? What the issue ?

10. When was the Independent, or National Party, organized ?

11. Out of factions from what other parties and organizations ?

12. What were the principles advocated by the party ?

LESSON III.

RECONSTRUCTION—FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT—SOUTHERN TROUBLES—KU KLUX—SAN DOMINGO—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

1. Give an account of the reconstruction scheme during Grant's administration.
 2. Give an account of the Fifteenth Amendment.
 3. Give the cause and origin of the Ku Klux Klan.
 4. What was the effect of these troubles in Louisiana?
 5. What course did Congress pursue in regard to these troubles?
 6. What was the course of General Grant in regard to these troubles?
 7. State the efforts of Grant to procure a harbor and naval station on the coast of San Domingo.
 8. What became of the project?
 9. Describe the course pursued in regard to Civil Service Reform.
 10. What became of the plan of Civil Service Reform?
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LESSON IV.

LABOR REFORM PARTY—THE GRANGERS—TEMPERANCE PARTY—NATIONAL PARTY—STRAIGHT-OUT DEMOCRATS—LIBERAL REPUBLICANS.

1. Give the origin of the Labor Reform Party.
2. What is said of the reduction of the hours of labor?

3. Who were combined with the workingmen?
 4. Give a full description of the "Grangers."
 5. Describe the origin of the Temperance Party. What name did it receive in 1876?
 6. Describe the National Party (Greenbackers).
 7. Who were the "Straight-out Democrats"?
 8. Describe the Liberal Republican Party. When did it assume a national organization?
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LESSON V.

ELECTIONS OF 1872—STATE GOVERNMENTS IN THE SOUTH —FINANCES.

1. Who were the nominees of the Liberal Republicans in 1872?
2. Describe the action of the Democratic Party in 1872.
3. What was the effect of the Convention at Baltimore?
4. Who were the nominees of the National Republicans?
5. Describe the course of the Labor Reform Party?
6. Who were nominees of the National Temperance Party?
7. What was the result of the election?
8. Describe the local disturbances in the reconstructed States during Grant's second term.
9. What was the tendency of the policy of the Government with respect to finances?
10. What was done in Congress?
11. What was the inclination of the President on this subject?

LESSON VI.

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—ELECTION OF 1876.

1. When was the bill providing for the resumption of specie payments passed?
2. By whom was it approved, and by whom opposed?
3. State the views of both friends and foes.
4. State the final result.
5. Name the Republican nominees in 1876.
6. Name those of the Democratic Party.
7. Who were the nominees of the National Party?
8. How many undisputed Electors were elected by the Republicans?
9. How many by the Democrats?
10. The votes of what States were contested? How many votes in each?
11. Which party gave certificates of Electors, and which party contested their validity?
12. What was done by Congress to settle the contest?
13. Who composed this Commission?
14. From what Departments of the Government were these Commissioners selected?
15. What was the result of the action of the Commission?

SECTION XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF RUTHERFORD B.
HAYES.

1878—1881.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

R. B. Hayes, the nineteenth President of the United States, is a native of Ohio, born in 1822. He received his literary education at Kenyon College, after which he studied law in the Law School of Harvard University, and in 1845 began the practice of law in his native State. From 1859 to 1861 he was City Solicitor of Cincinnati. In 1861 he volunteered his services to the Government, and was soon after made Major of the Twenty-third Ohio Infantry. Soon after he was assigned to duty in West Virginia, and was made Lieutenant-Colonel. He won distinction in the battle of South Mountain, in which he was severely wounded. In 1864 he commanded a brigade in General Crook's division. He bore a conspicuous part in the battles of Cloyd Mountain, Winchester, Berryville, and Cedar Creek.

In the latter part of 1864 he was made Brigadier-General, and in 1865 Major-General. In the last mentioned year he took his seat in Congress, to which he had been elected the fall before. In 1866 he was re-

elected. In 1867 he was elected Governor of Ohio, re-elected in 1869, and again in 1875.

In 1876 he was nominated by the Republicans for the Presidency. His popular vote is reported at 4,033,000; that of Tilden at 4,280,000. The Electoral vote in some States was claimed for each candidate. The question in dispute was decided by an Electoral Commission created by Congress, consisting of five United States Representatives, five United States Senators, and five Judges of the United States Supreme Court. The count commenced February 1st, and on the 2d of March the Commission declared that Hayes had received 185 Electoral votes, and Tilden 184. Hayes was inaugurated President March 5, 1877, and held the office four years.

LESSON I.

DEPARTMENTS—RECALL OF TROOPS FROM THE SOUTH— UTE WAR.

1. State the length of the administration.
2. Who was Vice-President?
3. Name the Cabinet officers.
4. What changes were made in the Cabinet?
5. Who was Chief Justice?
6. Who were Associate Judges?
7. Who was Speaker of the House of Representatives?
8. When were the Federal troops recalled from the South?
9. When did the Ute war begin?

LESSON II.

P A R T Y I S S U E S .

See Diagram of Parties.

1. State the issues of the Republicans in 1880.
 2. What faction branched off in 1879?
 3. What were advocated, and what opposed, by the Prohibitionists in 1880?
 4. What by the National Party?
 5. What party did the National Party absorb in 1880?
 6. What were advocated, and what opposed, by the Democratic Party in 1880?
 7. What faction of the Democrats bolted in 1879?
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LESSON III.

CONCILIATION—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM—ENFORCEMENT
OF ELECTION LAWS—NEGRO EXODUS—RESUMPTION.

1. What was the most prominent feature of the opening of Hayes's administration?
2. The appointment of what members of his Cabinet seemed to have this tendency?
3. What other indications show his desire to pacify the South?
4. What was the opinion of some Republicans on this point, and what were they called?
5. State the course of the administration in regard to Civil Service Reform.

6. Out of what did the most exciting party contest of the administration grow?
 7. State the substance of the opposition.
 8. State the resistance to the conditions of the bill, and give the final result.
 9. What is said of the negro exodus?
 10. Give an account of the resumption of specie payments.
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LESSON IV.

REFUNDING—TAMMANY—INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS— NOMINATIONS OF 1880.

1. Give an account of the refunding.
2. State the course of the Tammany Society, and the effect.
3. State the course of the Independent Republicans.
4. Who were the nominees of the Republicans in 1880?
5. State the two important features of this Convention.
6. Who were the nominees of the National Party (Greenback)?
7. What party acquiesced?
8. Who were the nominees of the Prohibition Party?
9. Who were the nominees of the Democratic Party?
10. What course did Tammany pursue at the announcement of the nominations?

PLATFORMS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

1789—1799.

NO PLATFORMS.

EXTRACT OF KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, NOV. 10, 1798.

Resolved, That whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

EXTRACT OF VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS, DEC. 24, 1798.

Resolved, That this assembly doth emphatically and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the Federal government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

EXTRACT OF KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, NOV. 14, 1799.

Resolved, That the several States who formed that instrument [Constitution] being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and that a nullification, by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy.

1800.

NO FEDERAL PLATFORM.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, PHILADELPHIA.

1. An inviolable preservation of the Federal Constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States, that in which it was advocated by its friends, and not that which its enemies apprehended, who, therefore, became its enemies.

2. Opposition to monarchizing its features by the forms of its administration, with a view to conciliate a transition, first, to a President and Senate for life; and, secondly, to an hereditary tenure of those offices, and thus to worm out the elective principle.

3. Preservation to the States of the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the Legislature of the Union its constitutional share in division of powers; and resistance, therefore, to existing movements for transferring all the powers of the States to the general government, and all of those of that government to the executive branch.

4. A rigorously frugal administration of the government, and the application of all the possible savings of the public revenue to the liquidation of the public debt; and resistance, therefore, to all measures looking to a multiplication of officers and salaries, merely to create partisans and to augment the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.

5. Reliance for internal defense solely upon the militia, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may be sufficient to protect our coasts and harbors from depredations; and

opposition, therefore, to the policy of a standing army in time of peace which may overawe the public sentiment, and to a navy, which, by its own expenses, and the wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens and sink us under them.

6. Free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment.

7. Opposition to linking ourselves, by new treaties, with the quarrels of Europe, entering their fields of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.

8. Freedom of religion, and opposition to all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another.

9. Freedom of speech and of the press; and opposition, therefore, to all violations of the Constitution, to silence, by force, and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their public agents.

10. Liberal naturalization laws, under which the well disposed of all nations who may desire to embark their fortunes with us and share with us the public burdens, may have that opportunity, under moderate restrictions, for the development of honest intention, and severe ones to guard against the usurpation of our flag.

11. Encouragement of science and the arts in all their branches, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions, and influences.

1801—1811.

NO PLATFORMS.

1812.

NO REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

NO FEDERAL PLATFORM.

CLINTONIAN PLATFORM, NEW YORK, AUGUST 17.

1. Opposition to nominations of chief magistrates by Congressional caucuses, as well because such practices are the exercise of undelegated authority, as of their repugnance to the freedom of elections.

2. Opposition to all customs and usages in both the Executive and Legislative Departments which have for their object the maintenance of an official regency to prescribe tenets of political faith, the line of conduct to be deemed fidelity or recreancy to Republican principles, and to perpetuate in themselves or families the offices of the Federal Government.

3. Opposition to all efforts on the part of particular States to monopolize the principal offices of the Government, as well because of their certainty to destroy the harmony which ought to prevail amongst all the constituent parts of the Union, as of their leanings toward a form of oligarchy entirely at variance with the theory of Republican government; and, consequently, particular opposition to continuing a citizen of Virginia in the Executive office another term, unless she can show that she enjoys a corresponding monopoly of talents and patriotism, after she has been honored with the Presidency for twenty out of twenty-four years of our constitutional existence, and when it is obvious that the practice has arrayed the agricultural against the commercial interests of the country.

4. Opposition to continuing public men for long periods in offices of delicate trust and weighty responsibility as the reward of public services, to the detriment of all or any particular interest in, or section of, the country; and, consequently, to the continuance of Mr. Madison in an office which, in view of our pending difficulties with Great Britain, requires an incumbent of greater decision, energy, and efficiency.

5. Opposition to the lingering inadequacy of preparation for the war with Great Britain, now about to ensue, and to the measure which allows uninterrupted trade with Spain and Portugal, which, as it cannot be carried on under our flag, gives to Great Britain the means of supplying her armies with provisions,

of which they would otherwise be destitute, and thus affording aid and comfort to our enemy.

6. Averment of the existing necessity for placing the country in a condition for aggressive action for the conquest of the British American Provinces, and for the defense of our coasts and exposed frontiers; and of the propriety of such a levy of taxes as will raise the necessary funds for the emergency.

7. Advocacy of the election of De Witt Clinton as the surest method of relieving the country from all the evils existing and prospective, for the reason that his great talents and inflexible patriotism guarantee a firm and unyielding maintenance of our national sovereignty, and the protection of those commercial interests which were flagging under the weakness and imbecility of the administration.

1815.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, JANUARY 4.

Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the Legislatures of the several States represented in this Convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said States from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the said Legislatures, to authorize an immediate and an earnest application to be made to the Government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement whereby the said States may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy, and a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said States may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the balance due said States and to the future defense of the

same.. The amount so paid into said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United States.

Resolved, That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the aforesaid States, to pass laws where it has not already been done, authorizing the Governors or Commanders-in-Chief of their Militia to make detachments from the same, or to form volunteer corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their Constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed, equipped, and held in readiness for service, and upon request of the Governor of either of the other States, to employ the whole of such detachment or corps, as well as the regular forces of the State, or such part thereof as may be required, and can be spared consistently with the safety of the State, in assisting the State making such request to repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

Resolved, That the following amendments of the Constitution of the United States be recommended to the States represented as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the State Legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient by a convention chosen by the people of each State. And it is further recommended that the said States shall persevere in their efforts to obtain such amendments, until the same shall be effected.

First. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, and all other persons;

Second. No new State shall be admitted into the Union by Congress, in virtue of the power granted in the Constitution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses;

Third. Congress shall not have power to lay an embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports or harbors thereof, for more than sixty days;

Fourth. Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial

intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation or the dependencies thereof;

Fifth. Congress shall not make nor declare war, nor authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, except such acts of hostility be in defense of the territories of the United States when actually invaded;

Sixth. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, or capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States;

Seventh. The same person shall not be elected President of the United States a second time, nor shall the President be elected from the same State two terms in succession.

Resolved, That if the application of these States to the government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defense of these States should be neglected, as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this convention, be expedient for the legislatures of the several States to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Monday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

Resolved, That the Honorable George Cabot, the Honorable Chauncey Goodrich, the Honorable Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this convention, to be holden in Boston at any time before new delegates shall be chosen as recommended in the above resolution, if in their judgment the situation of the country shall urgently require it.

1813—1829.

NO PLATFORMS.

1830.

ANTI-MASONIC RESOLUTION, PHILADELPHIA,
SEPTEMBER.

Resolved, That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention on Monday, the 26th day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both Houses of Congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, to be supported at the next election, and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of Anti-Masonry may require.

1832.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT
A RATIFICATION MEETING AT WASHINGTON
CITY, MAY 11.

Resolved, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

Resolved, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the general government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength, and permanency of the republic.

Resolved, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion, is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrine lately boldly preached in the United States Senate, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of the country.

1836.

LOCOFOCO PLATFORM, NEW YORK, JANUARY.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are

created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the true foundation of republican government is the equal rights of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management; that the idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up any natural right; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us; that no man has the natural right to commit aggressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him; that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions.

We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency; hostility to any and all monopolies by legislation, because they are violations of equal rights of the people; hostility to the dangerous and unconstitutional creation of vested rights or prerogatives by legislation, because they are usurpations of the people's sovereign rights; no legislative or other authority in the body politic can rightfully, by charter or otherwise, exempt any man or body of men, in any case whatever, from trial by jury and the jurisdiction or operation of the laws which govern the community.

We hold that each and every law or act of incorporation, passed by preceding legislatures, can be rightfully altered and repealed by their successors; and that they should be altered or repealed, when necessary for the public good, or when required by a majority of the people.

1836.

WHIG RESOLUTIONS, ALBANY, N. Y., FEBRUARY 3.

Resolved, That in support of our cause, we invite all citizens opposed to Martin Van Buren and the Baltimore nominees.

Resolved, That Martin Van Buren, by intriguing with the Ex-

ecutive to obtain his influence to elect him to the Presidency, has set an example dangerous to our freedom and corrupting to our free institutions.

Resolved, That the support we render to William H. Harrison is by no means given to him solely on account of his brilliant and successful services as leader of our armies during the last war, but that in him we view also the man of high intellect, the stern patriot, uncontaminated by the machinery of hackneyed politicians—a man of the school of Washington.

Resolved, That in Francis Granger we recognize one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, whose talents we admire, whose patriotism we trust, and whose principles we sanction.

1839.

ABOLITION RESOLUTION, WARSAW, N. Y.,
NOVEMBER 13.

Resolved, That in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen, requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.

1840.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 5.

1. *Resolved*, That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all departments and agents of the Government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer upon the general Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government.

6. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with, or control, the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts, by Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens, and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition Laws from our statute book.

Whereas, Several of the States which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the Presidency, have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for Vice-President, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to the nomination; and whereas, some of the said States are not represented in this Convention; therefore,

Resolved, that the Convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place, their opinions will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice-President by the Electoral College.

1843.

LIBERTY PLATFORM, BUFFALO, AUGUST 30.

1. *Resolved*, That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle of true democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it, can be truly democratic or permanent.

2. *Resolved*, That the Liberty Party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the general Government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights among men, in every State where the party exists, or may exist.

3. *Resolved*, That the Liberty Party has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American liberty, or the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the Liberty Party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of slavery; its first decided effort must, indeed, be directed against slaveholding as the grossest and most revolting manifestation of despotism, but it will also carry out the principle of equal rights into all its practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

5. *Resolved*, That the Liberty Party is not a sectional party but a national party; was not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country; is not a new party, nor a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.

6. *Resolved*, That it was understood in the times of the Declaration and the Constitution, that the existence of slavery in some of the States was in derogation of the principles of American liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country, and the implied faith of the States and the nation was pledged that slavery should never be extended beyond its then existing limits, but should be gradually, and yet, at no distant day, wholly abolished by State authority.

7. *Resolved*, That the faith of the States and the nation thus pledged, was most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the States, and by the adoption of the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory north-west of the river Ohio, then the only territory in the United States, and consequently the only territory subject in this respect to the control of Congress, by which ordinance slavery was for ever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the territory of Wisconsin,

and an incapacity to bear up any other than freemen was impressed on the soil itself.

8. *Resolved*, That the faith of the States and nation thus pledged has been shamefully violated by the omission, on the part of many of the States, to take any measures whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories of Louisiana and Florida; by the legislation of Congress; by the protection afforded by national legislation and negotiation to slaveholding in American vessels, on the high seas, employed in the coastwise slave traffic; and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits, by acts of Congress admitting new slave States into the Union.

9. *Resolved*, That the fundamental truth of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of our national Government, by that amendment of the Constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

10. *Resolved*, That we recognize as sound the doctrine maintained by slaveholding jurists, that slavery is against natural rights, and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rests on no other support than State legislation, and not on any authority of Congress.

11. *Resolved*, That the general Government has, under the Constitution, no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere, and therefore that all treaties and acts of Congress establishing, continuing, or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territory of Florida, or on the high seas, are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive national jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.

12. *Resolved*, That the provision of the Constitution of the United States which confers extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave States a privileged aristocracy; and the provision for the reclamation of fugitive

slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and ought to be abrogated.

13. *Resolved*, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions is seen in the enactment of the act of Congress respecting persons escaping from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania* be correct, nullifies the habeas corpus acts of all the States, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought, therefore, to be immediately repealed.

14. *Resolved*, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extended to slavery and slaveholding, by the general Government, ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.

15. *Resolved*, That the practice of the general Government, which prevails in the slave States, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible and ought to be abandoned.

16. *Resolved*, That freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations, and laws, in derogation of either, are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people.

17. *Resolved*, That we regard voting, in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty; which, when exercised, should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.

18. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the friends of liberty in all those free States where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color, to employ their utmost energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

Whereas, The Constitution of these United States is a series of

agreements, covenants, or contracts, between the people of the United States, each with all, and all with each; and,

Whereas, It is a principle of universal morality, that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of an Apostle, that “we ought to obey God rather than men;” and,

Whereas, The principle of common law—that any contract, covenant, or agreement, to do an act derogatory to natural right, is vitiated and annulled by its inherent immorality—has been recognized by one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in a recent case expressly holds that “*any* contract that rests upon such a basis is *void*;” and,

Whereas, The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave, *does* “rest upon such a basis,” in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right—namely, his natural right to his own liberty—and is therefore absolutely *void*. Therefore,

19. *Resolved*, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood by this nation and the world, that, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the laws of God, and our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens, or public functionaries, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and to treat the third clause of the fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it.

20. *Resolved*, That the power given to Congress by the Constitution, to provide for calling out the militia to suppress insurrection, does not make it the duty of the Government to maintain slavery by military force; much less does it make it the duty of the citizens to form a part of such military force; when freemen unsheathe the sword, it should be to strike for liberty, not for despotism.

21. *Resolved*, That to preserve the peace of the citizens, and secure the blessings of freedom, the Legislature of each of the free States ought to keep in force suitable statutes rendering it penal for any of its inhabitants to transport, or aid in transporting from such State, any person sought to be thus transported, merely because subject to the Slave Laws of any other State; this remnant of independence being accorded to the free States by the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of *Prigg vs. The State of Pennsylvania*.

1844.

WHIG PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 1.

Resolved, That these principles may be summed as comprising a well-regulated national currency: a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the Presidency; a reform of Executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy.

1844.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 27.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of the platform of 1840, were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

10. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the Constitution.

11. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard

the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the bank of the United States.

12. *Resolved*, That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period, are great American measures, which this Convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

1848.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 22.

1. *Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. *Resolved*, Therefore, that entertaining these views, the Democratic Party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, and 4, of the platform of 1840, were reaffirmed.

8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, after peaceful relations shall have been restored.

Resolution 5, of the Platform of 1840, was enlarged by the following:

And that the results of Democratic legislation, in this and all other-financial measures, upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolutions 7, 8, and 9, of the Platform of 1840, were here inserted.

13. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

14. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

15. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and

invading our sister State of Texas, and upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations, it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

16. *Resolved*, That we would be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt, it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration and to sustain the country in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

17. *Resolved*, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico, have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes and that more formidable enemy—the diseases of the climate—exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country, and the admiration of the world.

18. *Resolved*, That the Democratic National Convention of thirty States composing the American Republic, tender their fraternal congratulations to the National Convention of the Republic of France, now assembled, as the free suffrage representative of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of republicans, to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights, for which their La Fayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our national independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their counsels, on the basis of a democratic constitution, not derived from the grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend their forms of govern-

ment in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

19. *Resolved*, That in view of the recent development of this grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people and their capacity and power for self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the Old World, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic Party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us Constitutional liberty, equality, and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

20. *Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American Minister at Paris, to the National Convention of the Republic of France.

21. *Resolved*, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a National Bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the Constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty.

22. *Resolved*, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy, and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him in advance, that at the expiration of his Presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement the esteem, respect, and admiration of a grateful country.

23. *Resolved*, That this Convention hereby present to the people of the United States Lewis Cass, of Michigan, as the candidate of the Democratic Party for the office of President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President of the United States.

1848.

WHIG PRINCIPLES ADOPTED AT A RATIFICATION MEETING PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 9.

1. *Resolved*, That the Whigs of the United States, here assembled by their representatives, heartily ratify the nominations of General Zachary Taylor as President, and Millard Fillmore as Vice-President, of the United States, and pledge themselves to their support.

2. *Resolved*, That in the choice of General Taylor as the Whig candidate for President, we are glad to discover sympathy with a great popular sentiment throughout the nation—a sentiment which, having its origin in admiration of great military success, has been strengthened by the development, in every action and every word, of sound conservative opinions, and of true fidelity to the great example of former days, and to the principles of the Constitution as administered by its founders.

3. *Resolved*, That General Taylor, in saying that had he voted in 1844, he would have voted the Whig ticket, gives us the assurance—and no better is needed from a consistent and truth-

speaking man—that his heart was with us at the crisis of our political destiny, when Henry Clay was our candidate, and when not only Whig principles were well defined and clearly asserted, but Whig measures depended on success. The heart that was with us then is with us now, and we have a soldier's word of honor, and a life of public and private virtue, as the security.

4. *Resolved*, That we look on General Taylor's administration of the Government as one conducive of peace, prosperity, and union: of peace, because no one better knows, or has greater reason to deplore, what he has seen sadly on the field of victory, the horrors of war, and especially of a foreign and aggressive war; of prosperity, now more than ever needed to relieve the nation from a burden of debt and restore industry—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial—to its accustomed and peaceful functions and influences; of union, because we have a candidate whose very position as a Southwestern man, reared on the banks of the great stream whose tributaries, natural and artificial, embrace the whole Union, renders the protection of the interests of the whole country his first trust, and whose various duties in past life have been rendered, not on the soil, or under the flag of any State or section, but over the wide frontier and under the broad banner of the nation.

5. *Resolved*, That standing, as the Whig Party does, on the broad and firm platform of the Constitution, braced up by all its inviolable and sacred guarantees and compromises, and cherished in the affections, because protective of the interests of the people, we are proud to have as the exponent of our opinions one who is pledged to construe it by the wise and generous rules which Washington applied to it, and who has said—and no Whig desires any other assurance—that he will make Washington's administration the model of his own.

6. *Resolved*, That as Whigs and Americans, we are proud to acknowledge our gratitude for the great military services which, beginning at Palo Alto, and ending at Buena Vista, first awakened the American people to a just estimate of him who is now our Whig candidate. In the discharge of a painful duty—for his march into the enemy's country was a reluctant one; in the command of regulars at one time, and volunteers at another, and

of both combined ; in the decisive though punctual discipline of his camp, where all respected and loved him; in the negotiation of terms for a dejected and desperate enemy; in the exigency of actual conflict when the balance was perilously doubtful—we have found him the same—brave, distinguished, and considerate, no heartless spectator of bloodshed, no trifler with human life or human happiness; and we do not know which to admire most, his heroism in withstanding the assaults of the enemy in the most hopeless fields of Buena Vista—mourning in generous sorrow over the graves of Ringgold, of Clay, or of Hardin—or in giving, in the heat of battle, terms of merciful capitulation to a vanquished foe at Monterey, and not being ashamed to avow that he did it to spare women and children, helpless infancy and more helpless age, against whom no American soldier ever wars. Such a military man, whose triumphs are neither remote nor doubtful, whose virtues these trials have tested, we are proud to make our candidate.

7. *Resolved*, That in support of this nomination we ask our Whig friends throughout the nation to unite, to co-operate zealously, resolutely, with earnestness, in behalf of our candidate, whom calumny cannot reach, and with respectful demeanor to our adversaries, whose candidates have yet to prove their claims on the gratitude of the nation.

1848.

BUFFALO PLATFORM, UTICA, JUNE 22.

Whereas, We have assembled in convention, as a union of freemen, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political difference, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people; and

Whereas, The political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia—the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability—have dissolved the National Party organization heretofore exist-

ing, by nominating for the Chief Magistracy of the United States, under the slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension, without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect; and,

Whereas, These nominations so made furnish the occasion, and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of free democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control.

1. *Resolved therefore*, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

2. *Resolved*, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

3. *Resolved*, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery, after 1800, in all the Territories of the United States Southern and Northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates, in the Congress of 1784, for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage, slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

4. *Resolved*. That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to

establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all Constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

5. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or deprived by just implication from them.

6. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the Government possesses Constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and it is thus responsible for its existence.

7. *Resolved*, That the true, and, in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress.

8. *Resolved*, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave States, and more slave Territory, our calm but final answer is, no more slave States and no more slave Territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New World.

9. *Resolved*, That the bill lately reported by the Committee of Eight in the Senate of the United States was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into the Territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage, in hot haste, by a majority, embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the

known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

10. *Resolved*, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril, and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free Government and free Territories; and not only for them, but for our brethren in California and New Mexico.

11. *Resolved*, It is due, not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy; therefore,

12. *Resolved*, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

13. *Resolved*, That river and harbor improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its Constitutional power, to provide therefor.

14. *Resolved*, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote in various ways the interests of all the States of this Union; and we, therefore, recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

15. *Resolved*, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are, therefore, in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the Federal

Government, and to pay annual installments of our debt and the interest thereon.

16. *Resolved*, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it we will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

1852.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JUNE 1.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, of the platform of 1848, were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

9. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and that above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures, upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety, and utility, in all business pursuits.

10. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

11. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal

principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us, ought be resisted with the same spirit that swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute book.

12. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with, or control, the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

13. *Resolved*, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic Party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress, "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

14. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

[Here resolutions 13 and 14, of the platform of 1848, were inserted.]

17. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its

political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

18. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the law of nations, was a just and necessary war on our part, in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, given aid and comfort to the enemy.

19. *Resolved*, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister Republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions; and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war, which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic Party, and insured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.

20. *Resolved*, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1852.

WHIG PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JUNE 16.

The Whigs of the United States, in convention assembled, adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence

in their capacity for self-government and their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party was effected :

First. The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that powers not granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

Second. The State governments should be held secure to their reserved rights, and the General Government sustained in its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

Third. That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig Party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his Farewell Address, of keeping ourselves from all entangling alliances with foreign countries; and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground; that our mission as a republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose on other countries our forms of government, by artifice or force, but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation, and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions.

Fourth. That, as the people make and control the government, they should obey its Constitution, laws, and treaties as they would retain their self-respect, and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

Fifth. Governments should be conducted on the principles of the strictest economy; and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof, in time of peace, ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and on laying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and, when practicable, by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes and to all portions of the country.

Sixth. The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defense, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States, said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character.

Seventh. The Federal and State Governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, State, and individual welfare.

Eighth. That the series of acts of the 32d Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig Party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and, so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other—not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig Party and the integrity of the Union.

1852.

FREE-SOIL PLATFORM, PITTSBURG, AUGUST 11.

Having assembled in national convention as the Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrong, and freedom against slavery; confiding in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the American people; putting our trust in God for the triumph of

our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men, the following declaration of principles and measures:

1. That governments, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

2. That the true mission of American Democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union, by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discriminations, of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice, and an economical administration.

3. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

4. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the general government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and, therefore, the Government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery, wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

5. That, to the persevering and importunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—No more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

6. That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that

Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

7. That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world; we, therefore, deny its binding force on the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

8. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

9. That the Acts of Congress, known as the Compromise Measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interests of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in the free Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, and the cession of large Territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people, through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

10. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national, by the total separation of the general Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

11. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil;

and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

12. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

13. That due regard for the Federal Constitution, a sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the general Government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the Government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges, and by the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

14. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern; and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

15. That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own government, and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief republic of the

world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional governments.

17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our Government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

18. That as by the Constitution, "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

19. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitrations.

20. That the Free Democratic Party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great slave compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

21. That we inscribe on our banner Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

22. That upon this platform, the Convention presents to the American people, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and as a

candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commends them to the support of all freemen and all parties.

1856.

THE AMERICAN PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY 21.

1. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the union of these States.

2. The perpetuation of the Federal Union and Constitution, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwarks of American independence.

3. *Americans must rule America*; and to this end *native-born* citizens should be selected for all State, Federal, and Municipal offices of government employment, in preference to all others. *Nevertheless,*

4. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens.

5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State Constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

6. The unequalled recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good-will between the citizens of the several States, and, to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7. The recognition of the right of native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their Constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs, in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress: *Provided, always*, that none but those who are citizens of the United States under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, ought to participate in the formation of the Constitution or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

8. An enforcement of the principles that no State or Territory ought to admit others than citizens to the right of suffrage or of holding political offices of the United States.

9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith or worship; and no test-oaths for office.

11. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted, until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cow-

ardly bravado towards the weaker powers; as shown in reopening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

14. Therefore, to remedy existing evils and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American Party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated.

15. That each State council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions, so as to abolish the several degrees, and substitute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations, for fellowship and admission into the party.

16. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

1856.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, JUNE 6.

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as a great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic Party of this Union, through their delegates, assembled in

general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert, before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them, when, on former occasions, in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and a complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence and foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government and gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of this country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and will of the people; and the results of the Democratic legislation in this, and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable to the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical dominion of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition Laws from our statute books.

And whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively Americans, and it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relations thereto,

and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called—

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon, entire freedom of matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate, with renewed energy of purpose, the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States—

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that all such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic Party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the Congress of 1850—"The Act for Reclaiming Fugitives from

Service or Labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic Party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic Party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the Compromise of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig Parties in national conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principles to the organization of Territories and the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of the popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic Party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of the States, and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expression of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations,

to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it; and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies; we can, under no circumstances, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys and of the Union at large.

6. *Resolved*, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and, therefore, true to the

great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition, he has maintained the laws at home and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad, and therefore we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

1856.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT
PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were, to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of indivi-

duals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their Territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property, without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons, have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present national administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessaries either before or

after the facts, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her Territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations of Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all proscriptive legislation affecting their security.

1856.

WHIG PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER 13.

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, now here assembled, hereby declare their reverence for the Constitution of

the United States, their unalterable attachment to the National Union, and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve them for themselves and their posterity. They have no new principles to announce; no new platform to establish; but are content to broadly rest—where their fathers rested—upon the Constitution of the United States, wishing no safer guide, no higher law.

Resolved, That we regard with the deepest interest and anxiety the present disordered condition of our national affairs—a portion of the country ravaged by civil war, large sections of our population embittered by mutual recriminations; and we distinctly trace these calamities to the culpable neglect of duty by the present national administration.

Resolved, That the Government of the United States was formed by the conjunction in political unity of wide-spread geographical sections, materially differing, not only in climate and products, but in social and domestic institutions; and that any cause that shall permanently array the different sections of the Union in political hostility and organize parties founded only on geographical distinctions, must inevitably prove fatal to a continuance of the National Union.

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States declare, as a fundamental article of political faith, an absolute necessity for avoiding geographical parties. The danger, so clearly discerned by the Father of his Country, has now become fearfully apparent in the agitation now convulsing the nation, and must be arrested at once if we would preserve our Constitution and our Union from dismemberment, and the name of America from being blotted out from the family of civilized nations.

Resolved, That all who revere the Constitution and the Union must look with alarm at the parties in the field in the present Presidential campaign—one claiming only to represent sixteen Northern States, and the other appealing mainly to the passions and prejudices of the Southern States; that the success of either faction must add fuel to the flame which now threatens to wrap our dearest interests in a common ruin.

Resolved, That the only remedy for an evil so appalling is to

support a candidate pledged to neither of the geographical sections nor arrayed in political antagonism, but holding both in a just and equal regard. We congratulate the friends of the Union that such a candidate exists in Millard Fillmore.

Resolved, That, without adopting or referring to the peculiar doctrines of the party which has already selected Mr. Fillmore as a candidate, we look to him as a well tried and faithful friend of the Constitution and the Union, eminent alike for his wisdom and firmness—for his justice and moderation in our foreign relations—for his calm and pacific temperament, so well becoming the head of a great nation—for his devotion to the Constitution in its true spirit—his inflexibility in executing the laws; but, beyond all these attributes, in possessing the one transcendent merit of being a representative of neither of the two sectional parties now struggling for political supremacy.

Resolved, That, in the present exigency of political affairs, we are not called upon to discuss the subordinate questions of administration in the exercising of the constitutional powers of the Government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging, and that the Union is in peril; and we proclaim the conviction that the restoration of Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency will furnish the best if not the only means of restoring peace.

1860.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM, BALTIMORE,
MAY 9.

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles other than THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS; and that as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in national convention

assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

1860.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CHICAGO, MAY 17.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican Party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and for ever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury

by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent—is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that “no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,” it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State proper under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the gen-

eral Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican Party is opposed to any change in our Naturalization Laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligations of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

1860.

DEMOCRATIC (DOUGLAS) PLATFORM, CHARLESTON,
APRIL 23, AND BALTIMORE, JUNE 18.

1. *Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters, and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic Party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories.

2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic Party pledge such Constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. *Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, shall be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general Government.

1860.

DEMOCRATIC (BRECKENRIDGE) PLATFORM, CHARLESTON AND BALTIMORE.

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic Party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a Territory, organized by an act of Congress, is provisional and temporary; and, during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle, with their property, in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory having an adequate population form a State Constitution, in pursuance of law, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States, and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic Party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

5. That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

6. That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

Whereas, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Democratic Party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

1864.

RADICAL PLATFORM, CLEVELAND; MAY 31.

1. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.

2. That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

3. That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms, and without compromise.

4. That the rights of free speech, free press, and the *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

5. That the rebellion has destroyed slavery; and the Federal Constitution should be so amended as to prohibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

6. That integrity and economy are demanded, at all times, in

the administration of the Government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.

7. That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; and that any violation of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unbuked.

8. That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recognized principle; and that the establishment of an Anti-Republican Government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated.

9. That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union Army and Navy, for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defense of our imperiled country and of civil liberty.

10. That the one-term policy for the Presidency, adopted by the people, is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by Constitutional amendment.

11. That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

12. That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.

13. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice.

1864.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JUNE 7.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain, against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a

common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling, by force of arms, the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and for ever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment, as Union soldiers, of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these, and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country, into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

Resolved, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

Resolved, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that, for this purpose, we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the

public expenditures and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the Government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this, our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

1864.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, CHICAGO, AUGUST 29.

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of all the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority

of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution; and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic Party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of State rights, the employment of unusual test-oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who now are, and long have been, prisoners of war, in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic Party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and the sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of their country; and, in the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness, that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned.

1868.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CHICAGO, MAY 20.

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evidenced by the adoption,

in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped

high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this Republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This Convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people who are struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels, in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty shall die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence, as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

1868

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, NEW YORK, JULY 4.

The Democratic Party, in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled, for all time to come, by the war or the voluntary action of the Southern States in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be revived or reagitated, do, with the return of peace, demand—

1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable—all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer, and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the Government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue; that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, and the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the Government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native

born citizens, at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms, we arraign the Radical Party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions, for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters, without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law. It has converted the American Capitol into a bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort. It has abolished the right of appeal, on important constitutional questions, to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution; while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges pre-

ferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history; and, by its frauds and monopolies, it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults, the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base; and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British Crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively; and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of Government, and can only end in a single, centralized, and consolidated Government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of coequal States. And that we regard the reconstruction acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against the most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people; and, on behalf of the Democratic Party, we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform, the Democratic Party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such, co-operating with us, as friends and brethren.

Resolved, That this Convention sympathizes cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

1872.

LABOR REFORM PLATFORM, COLUMBUS,
FEBRUARY 21.

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges or immunities from the Government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed. And believing that all the evils resulting from unjust legislation now

affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principles contained in the following declaration: therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor, by providing a purely national circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and interchangeable, at the option of the holder, for Government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.65 per cent., subject to future legislation by Congress.

2. That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the Government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future exigencies of labor to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

3. That justice demands that the burdens of Government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption from taxation of Government bonds bearing extravagant rates of interest, is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.

5. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.

6. That the presence in our country of Chinese laborers, imported by capitalists in large numbers for servile use, is an evil entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime on all

classes of the American people, and should be prohibited by legislation.

7. That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all mechanics and day-laborers employed by or on behalf of the Government, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations contracting with the State, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day, recently adopted by Congress for national employês; and also for an amendment to the acts of incorporation for cities and towns, by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

8. That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

9. That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore, money needed for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealthy of the country, and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

10. That it is the duty of the Government to exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation, or charges, by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the National Government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.

12. That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the coun-

try at each election ; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the Presidential chair to one term.

13. We are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the States together and restore the government of the people.

14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to national purposes alone.

15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the patent laws so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own ideas and inventions.

16. That fitness, and not political or personal considerations, should be the only recommendation to public office, either appointive or elective ; and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.

1872.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM, COLUMBUS, OHIO, FEBRUARY 22.

The preamble recites that protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties ; and every citizen who yields obediently to the full commands of Government should be protected in all enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty, and private property. That the traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a great mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure. That all political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question : Therefore, as a national convention, we adopt the following declaration of principles :

That while we acknowledge the pure patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundation of this Government, securing at once the rights of the States severally and their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we

would not merely garnish the sepulchers of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our pledges of solemn fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution.

That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive of ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, and imperatively demands, for its suppression, effective legal prohibition, both by State and national legislation.

That there can be no greater peril to a nation than existing party competition for the liquor vote. That any party not opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition—will court the favor of criminal classes—will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government, for party success.

That, as prohibitionists, we will individually use all efforts to persuade men from the use of intoxicating liquors; and we invite all persons to assist in this movement.

That competence, honesty, and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for holding office.

That removals from public office for mere political differences of opinion are wrong.

That fixed and moderate salaries of public officers should take the place of fees and perquisites; and that all means should be taken to prevent corruption and encourage economy.

That the President and Vice-President should be elected directly by the people.

That we are in favor of a sound national currency, adequate to the demands of business, and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder, and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice and public safety to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

That the rates of ocean and inland postage, and railroad and

telegraph lines and water transportation, should be made as low as possible by law.

That we are opposed to all discrimination in favor of capital against labor, as well as all monopoly and class legislation.

That the removal of the burdens imposed in the traffic in intoxicating drinks will emancipate labor, and will practically promote labor reform.

That suffrage should be granted to all persons, without regard to sex.

That the fostering and extension of common schools is a primary duty of the Government.

That a liberal policy should be pursued to promote foreign immigration.

1872.

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CINCINNATI,
MAY 1.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of person under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition; and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We, therefore, regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest Government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic; and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendships of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

1872.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JULY 9.

We, the Democratic electors of the United States, in convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government:

[Here followed the "Liberal Republican Platform;" which see above.]

1872.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 5.

The Republican Party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted, with grand courage, the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a

gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved their loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased, with firm hand, the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizens' rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably compromised, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the Party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the Government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect to

citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of civil service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing; and we, therefore, favor a reform of the system, by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal; and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican Party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to

transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and a way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor; and the Republican Party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violence and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican Party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in the rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican Party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers

delegated by them to the States and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

17. It is the duty of the general Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people; with him at our head, we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

1872.

DEMOCRATIC (STRAIGHT-OUT) PLATFORM, LOUISVILLE, KY., SEPT. 3.

Whereas, A frequent recurrence to first principles and eternal vigilance against abuses are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress, and fidelity to our constitutional system is the only protection for either: therefore,

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is consent in every part thereof. The people of each State voluntarily created their State, and the States voluntarily formed the Union; and each State provided by its written Constitution for everything a State could do for the protection of life, liberty, and property within it; and each State, jointly with the others, provided a Federal Union for foreign and inter-state relations.

Resolved, That all governmental powers, whether State or Federal, are trust powers coming from the people of each State, and

that they are limited to the written letter of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it; which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the Constitution itself stating in what manner they may be altered or amended.

Resolved, That the interests of labor and capital should not be permitted to conflict, but should be harmonized by judicious legislation. While such a conflict continues, labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration.

Resolved, That we proclaim to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic Party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles, which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which Presidents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating; but we welcome an eternal minority, under the banner inscribed with our principles, rather than an almighty and everlasting majority, purchased by their abandonment.

Resolved, That, having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership by the Convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our platform, and to rally to the polls and support the true platform and the candidates who embody it.

1875.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM, ADOPTED IN MASS MEETING, PITTSBURG, JUNE 9.

We hold:

1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

3. That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, is the true policy on the temperance question.

4. The charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal

and State Legislatures should be withdrawn, and their oaths prohibited by law.

5. That the civil equality secured to all American citizens by Articles 13th, 14th, and 15th of our Amended Constitution should be preserved inviolate.

6. That arbitration of differences with nations is the most direct and sure method of securing and perpetuating a permanent peace.

7. That to cultivate the intellect without improving the morals of men is to make mere adepts and experts: therefore, the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

8. That land and other monopolies should be discountenanced.

9. That the Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency and a return to specie payment, as soon as practicable.

10. That maintenance of the public credit, protection to all loyal citizens, and justice to Indians are essential to the honor and safety of our nation.

11. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of Electoral Colleges, and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

[Their candidates were James B. Walker, Wheaton, Illinois, for President; and Donald Kirkpatrick, Syracuse, New York, for Vice-President.]

1876.

PROHIBITION REFORM PLATFORM, CLEVELAND, OHIO, MAY 17.

The Prohibition Reform Party of the United States, organized, in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit, in this centennial year of the Republic, for the suffrages

of all good citizens, the following platform of national reforms and measures:

First. The legal prohibition in the District of Columbia, the Territories, and in every other place subject to the laws of Congress, of the importation, exportation, manufacture, and traffic of all alcoholic beverages, as high crimes against society; an amendment of the National Constitution, to render these prohibitory measures universal and permanent; and the adoption of treaty stipulations with foreign powers, to prevent the importation and exportation of all alcoholic beverages.

Second. The abolition of class legislation, and of special privileges in the Government, and the adoption of equal suffrage and eligibility to office, without distinction of race, religious creed, property, or sex.

Third. The appropriation of the public lands, in limited quantities, to actual settlers only; the reduction of the rates of inland and ocean postage; of telegraphic communication; of railroad and water transportation and travel, to the lowest practical point, by force of laws, wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interest of capital employed, but to the higher claims of the general good.

Fourth. The suppression, by laws, of lotteries and gambling in gold, stocks, produce, and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

Fifth. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil; and the protection of purity, peace, and happiness of homes, by ample and efficient legislation.

Sixth. The national observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employment (works of necessity, charity, and religion excepted) on that day.

Seventh. The establishment, by mandatory provisions in National and State Constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

Eighth. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground of religious creeds, but as a text-book of purest morality, the best liberty, and the noblest literature in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light, and that its spirit and principles may pervade our nation.

Ninth. The separation of the Government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws, with entire freedom of religious faith and worship.

Tenth. The introduction into all treaties hereafter negotiated with foreign governments of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

Eleventh. The abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punishment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and nation, which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

Twelfth. The abolition of executive and legislative patronage, and the election of President, Vice-President, United States Senators, and of all civil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

Thirteenth. The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to immigrants from all nations, the guarantee to them of ample protection, and of equal rights and privileges.

Fourteenth. The separation of the money of Government from all banking institutions. The National Government, only, should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be subject to prompt redemption on demand, in gold and silver, the only equal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

Fifteenth. The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio with the decline of wages and market prices; the abolition of sinecures, unnecessary offices, and official fees and perquisites; the practice of strict economy in Government expenses,

and a free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public trusts.

1876.

INDEPENDENT (GREENBACK) PLATFORM, INDIAN-
APOLIS, IND., MAY 17.

The Independent Party is called into existence by the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic Parties refuse to change; and, in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles, and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.

First. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every congressional district of the country, with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

Second. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the Government, and convertible, on demand, into United States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be full legal tenders for all purposes, except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the Government to provide such a circulating medium, and insist, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

Third. It is the paramount duty of the Government, in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and commercial.

Fourth. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made, for a long period, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the Government may need to sell, provided they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent. per annum or even a lower rate.

Fifth. We further protest against the sale of Government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fluctuating fractional currency, which although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress, in taxation, an already overburdened people.

1876.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CINCINNATI, OHIO,
JUNE 14.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican Party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the Party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective Constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican Party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican Party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican Party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent Constitutional Amendments is vested, by those amendments, in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercises of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representa-

tives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected ; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures, and the obligations of the public debt, must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican Party recognizes, with approval, the substantial advances recently made towards the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities, should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We, therefore, note with deep solicitude that the Democratic Party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the Electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife, and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic Party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding, in the national capital, the sentiments of unrepent-

ant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The National Administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

18. We present, as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

1876.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 27.

We, the delegates of the Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the Administration of the Federal Government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and of the Democratic Party in each State, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake, with us, this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country, we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion

to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of Republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyranny, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal Government itself with incapacity, waste, and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule; and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of “hard times.”

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people, in federal taxes, thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four

times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hinderances thereto. As such hinderance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation, by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and of its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating, at no time, an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed. A system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries—set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts—restore employment to labor—and renew, in all its natural sources, the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising, revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of

American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State, and Municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870—or, in one decade, from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the Government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers, by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and, out of more than thrice that aggregate, has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now, by law, denied citizenship through naturalization, as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German, and tolerates a revival of the Cooly trade in Mongolian women, imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men,

held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic Party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain, without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the Governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition. Here, again, promises, falsified in the performance, attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary, even more, in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers—these, and all others in authority—are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his

rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched, or enriching friends, by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England concerned in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes—the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican Party—create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the Cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty thousand office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this Convention, representing the Democratic Party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives, in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government, in cutting down salaries and extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have

a just claim upon the care, protection; and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

1878.

NATIONAL PLATFORM, TOLEDO, OHIO, FEBRUARY 22.

Whereas, Throughout our entire country the value of real estate is depreciated, industry paralyzed, trade depressed, business incomes and wages reduced, unparalleled distress inflicted upon the poorer and middle ranks of our people, the land filled with fraud, embezzlement, bankruptcy, crime, suffering, pauperism, and starvation; and

Whereas, This state of things has been brought about by legislation in the interest of and dictated by money-lenders, bankers, and bondholders; and

Whereas, While we recognize the fact that the men in Congress connected with the old political parties have stood up manfully for the rights of the people, and met the threats of the money power and the ridicule of an ignorant and subsidized press, yet neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party in their policies propose remedies for the existing evils; and

Whereas, The Independent Greenback Party and other associations more or less effective have been unable, hitherto, to make a formidable opposition to old party organizations; and

Whereas, The limiting of the legal tender quality of the greenbacks, the changing of currency bonds into coin bonds, the demonetization of the silver dollar, the exempting of bonds from taxation, the contraction of the circulating medium, the proposed forced resumption of specie payments, and the prodigal waste of the public lands, were crimes against the people; and, as far as possible, the results of these criminal acts must be counteracted by judicious legislation;

Therefore, We assemble in national convention and make a declaration of our principles, and invite all patriotic citizens to unite in an effort to secure financial reform and industrial emancipation. The organization shall be known as the "National

Party," and under this name we will perfect, without delay, national, State, and local associations, to secure the election to office of such men only as will pledge themselves to do all in their power to establish these principles:

First. It is the exclusive function of the general Government to coin and create money and regulate its value. All bank issues designed to circulate as money should be suppressed. The circulating medium, whether of metal or paper, shall be issued by the Government, and made a full legal tender for all debts, duties, and taxes in the United States, at its stamped value.

Second. There shall be no privileged class of creditors. Official salaries, pensions, bonds, and all other debts and obligations, public and private, shall be discharged in the legal tender money of the United States, strictly according to the stipulations of the laws under which they were contracted.

Third. The coinage of silver shall be placed on the same footing as that of gold.

Fourth. Congress shall provide said money adequate to the full employment of labor, the equitable distribution of its products, and the requirements of business, fixing a minimum amount *per capita* of the population as near as may be, and otherwise regulating its value by wise and equitable provisions of law, so that the rate of interest will secure to labor its just reward.

Fifth. It is inconsistent with the genius of popular government that any species of private property should be exempt from bearing its proper share of the public burdens. Government bonds and money should be taxed precisely as other property, and a graduated income tax should be levied for the support of the Government and the payment of its debts.

Sixth. Public lands are the common property of the whole people, and should not be sold to speculators nor granted to railroads or other corporations, but should be donated to actual settlers in limited quantities.

Seventh. The Government should by general enactments encourage the development of our agricultural, mineral, mechani-

cal, manufacturing, and commercial resources, to the end that labor may be fully and profitably employed; but no monopolies should be legalized.

Eighth. All useless offices should be abolished, the most rigid economy favored in every branch of the public service, and severe punishment inflicted upon public officers who betray the trusts reposed in them.

Ninth. As educated labor has devised means for multiplying production by inventions and discoveries, and as their use requires the exercise of mind as well as body, such legislation should be had that the number of hours of daily toil will be reduced, giving to the working classes more leisure for mental improvement and their several enjoyments, and saving them from premature decay and death.

Tenth. The adoption of an American monetary system as proposed herein will harmonize all differences in regard to tariff and federal taxation, reduce and equalize the cost of transportation by land and water, distribute equitably the joint earnings of capital and labor, secure to the producers of wealth the results of their labor and skill, and muster out of service the vast army of idlers who, under the existing system, grow rich upon the earnings of others, that every man and woman may by their own efforts secure a competency, so that overgrown fortunes and extreme poverty will be seldom found within the limits of our Republic.

Eleventh. Both National and State Governments should establish bureaus of labor and industrial statistics, clothed with the power of gathering and publishing the same.

Twelfth. That the contract system of employing labor in our prisons and reformatory institutions works great injustice to our mechanics and artisans, and should be prohibited.

Thirteenth. The importation of servile labor into the United States from China is a problem of the most serious importance, and we recommend legislation looking to its suppression.

Fourteenth. We believe in the supremacy of law over and above all perishable material, and in the necessity of a party of united

people that will rise above old party lines and prejudices. We will not affiliate in any degree with any of the old parties, but in all cases and localities will organize anew, as united national men—nominate for office and official positions only such persons as are clearly believers in and identified with this our sacred cause; and irrespective of creed, color, place of birth, or past condition of political or other servitude, vote only for men who entirely abandon old party lines and organizations.

1879.

NATIONAL LIBERAL PLATFORM, CINCINNATI, OHIO,
SEPTEMBER 14.

1. Total separation of church and State, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution; including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibitions of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all measures necessary to the same general end.

2. National protection for national citizens in their equal civil, political, and religious rights, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution and afforded through the United States Courts.

3. Universal education, the basis of universal suffrage in this secular Republic, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

1880.

INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

I. Independent Republicans adhere to the Republican principles of national supremacy, sound finance, and civil service reform, expressed in the Republican platform of 1876, in the

letter of acceptance of President Hayes, and in his Message of 1879; and they seek the realization of those principles in practical laws and their efficient administration. This requires—

1. The continuance on the statute-book of laws protecting the rights of voters at national elections. But national supremacy affords no pretext for interference with the local rights of communities; and the development of the South from its present defective civilization can be secured only under constitutional methods, such as those of President Hayes.

2. The passage of laws which shall deprive greenbacks of their legal-tender quality, as a first step toward their ultimate withdrawal and cancellation, and shall maintain all coins made legal-tender at such weight and fineness as will enable them to be used without discount in the commercial transactions of the world.

3. The repeal of the acts which limit the terms of office of certain Government officials to four years; the repeal of the tenure-of-office acts, which limit the power of the Executive to remove for cause; the establishment of a permanent civil service commission, or equivalent measures, to ascertain, by open competition, and certify to the President or other appointing power, the fitness of applicants for nomination or appointment to all non-political offices.

II. Independent Republicans believe that local issues should be independent of party. The words Republican and Democrat should have no weight in determining whether a school or city shall be administered on business principles by capable men. With a view to this, legislation is asked which shall prescribe for the voting for local and for State officers upon separate ballots.

III. Independent Republicans assert that a political party is a co-operation of voters to secure the practical enactment into legislation of political convictions set forth as its platform. Every voter accepting that platform is a member of that party; any representative of that party opposing the principles or evading the promises of its platform forfeits the support of its voters. No voter should be held by the action or nomination of any caucus or convention of his party against his private judgment.

It is his duty to vote against bad measures and unfit men, as the only means of obtaining good ones; and if his party no longer represents its professed principles in its practical workings, it is his duty to vote against it.

IV. Independent Republicans seek good nominations through participation in the primaries and through the defeat of bad nominees; they will labor for the defeat of any local Republican candidate, and, in co-operation with those holding like views elsewhere, for the defeat of any general Republican candidate whom they do not deem fit.

1880.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 2.

The Republican Party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States with freedom, instead of slavery, as its corner-stone. It transformed four millions of human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent. bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time; and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed, annually, over \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican Party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people; and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved, through immense difficulties, should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted, undiminished, to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted; and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract; out of Confederate States it made a

sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States; and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion; but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influences of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the Legislature of each State, to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenues should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. That we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease. That the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory—to do them perpetual honor is, and shall for ever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the

Republican Party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to select him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic Party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National and State Governments, and the control of place and position, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully-elected members of Congress, to secure, at all hazards, the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy, by force and fraud, the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courageous action of Maine's patriotic sons, have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movements of Government depend; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. Equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws, and protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The danger of a solid South can only be averted by the faithful performance of

every promise which the nation made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured, and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes, the nation must perform; and the nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican Party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country, at this time, to surrender the administration of the National Government to a Party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there are now order, confidence, and hope.

9. The Republican Party, adhering to a principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rule covering appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

1880.

NATIONAL (GREENBACK) PLATFORM, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, JUNE 9.

The civil Government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the pro-

ducers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social, and moral culture ; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth-producers a state of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong government, and, hence, a weak people. Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce ; and the scarcity of money enforces debt-trade and public and corporate loans ; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are—deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, we declare—

First. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations ; and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Second. That the bonds of the United States should not be re-funded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract.

To enable the Government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the National Banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

Third. That labor should be so protected by national and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results. The eight hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control, the competition of contract convict labor abolished, a bureau of labor statistics established, factories, mines, and workshops inspected, the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

Fourth. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor ; therefore, immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

Fifth. Railroad grant lands forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the Government, and, henceforth, the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

Sixth. It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

Seventh. We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the Government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

Eighth. That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who periled their lives and

shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican Party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

Ninth. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

Tenth. We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

Eleventh. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

Twelfth. That we demand absolute Democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

Thirteenth. We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

Fourteenth. In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and the machinery of Government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions and over life and property.

1880.

PROHIBITION REFORM PLATFORM, CLEVELAND,
OHIO, JUNE 17.

The Prohibition Reform Party of the United States, organized, in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in

the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit, for the suffrage of all good citizens, the following platform of national reforms and measures :

In the examination and discussion of the temperance question, it has been proven, and is an accepted truth, that alcoholic drinks, whether fermented, brewed, or distilled, are poisonous to the healthy human body, the drinking of which is not only needless but hurtful, necessarily tending to form intemperate habits, increasing greatly the number, severity, and fatal termination of diseases, weakening and deranging the intellect, polluting the affections, hardening the heart, and corrupting the morals, depriving many of reason and still more of its healthful exercise, and annually bringing down large numbers to untimely graves, producing, in the children of many who drink, a predisposition to intemperance, insanity, and various bodily and mental diseases, causing diminution of strength, feebleness of vision, fickleness of purpose, and premature old age, and inducing in all future generations, deterioration of moral and physical character. Alcoholic drinks are thus the implacable foe of man as an individual.

First. The legalized importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks ministers to their use, and teaches the erroneous and destructive sentiment that such use is right, thus tending to produce and perpetuate the above-mentioned evils.

Second. To the home it is an enemy—proving itself to be a disturber and destroyer of its peace, prosperity, and happiness; taking from it the earnings of the husband; depriving the dependent wife and children of essential food, clothing, and education; bringing into it profanity, abuse, and violence; setting at naught the vows of the marriage altar; breaking up the family and sundering the children from the parents, and thus destroying one of the most beneficent institutions of our Creator, and removing the sure foundation of good government, national prosperity, and welfare.

Third. To the community it is equally an enemy—producing vice, demoralization, and wickedness; its places of sale being resorts of gaming, lewdness, and debauchery, and the hiding-

place of those who prey upon society; counteracting the efficacy of religious effort, and of all means of intellectual elevation, moral purity, social happiness, and the eternal good of mankind, without rendering any counteracting or compensating benefits; being in its influence and effect evil and only evil, and that continually.

Fourth. To the State it is equally an enemy—legislative inquiries, judicial investigations, and official reports of all penal, reformatory, and dependent institutions showing that the manufacture and sale of such beverages is the promoting cause of intemperance, crime, and pauperism, and of demands upon public and private charity, imposing the larger part of taxation, paralyzing thrift, industry, manufactures, and commercial life, which, but for it, would be unnecessary; disturbing the peace of streets and highways; filling prisons and poor-houses; corrupting politics, legislation, and the execution of the laws; shortening lives; diminishing health, industry, and productive power in manufactures and art; and is manifestly unjust as well as injurious to the community upon which it is imposed, and is contrary to all just views of civil liberty, as well as a violation of the fundamental maxim of our common law, to use your own property or liberty so as not to injure others.

Fifth. It is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection to any traffic or any system which tends to waste the resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people; that the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating beverages is proven to be inimical to the true interests of the individual home, community, and State, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be classed among crimes to be prohibited.

Sixth. In this time of profound peace at home and abroad, the entire separation of the general Government from the drink-traffic, and its prohibition in the District of Columbia, Territories, and in all places and ways over which, under the Constitution, Congress has control and power, is a political issue of the first importance to the peace and prosperity of the Nation. There can be no stable peace and protection to personal liberty, life, or

property, until secured by national or State constitutional provisions, enforced by adequate laws.

Seventh. All legitimate industries require deliverance from the taxation and loss which the liquor traffic imposes upon them; and financial or other legislation could not accomplish so much to increase production and cause a demand for labor, and, as a result, for the comforts of living, as the suppression of this traffic would bring to thousands of homes as one of its blessings.

Eighth. The administration of the Government and the execution of the laws are through political parties; and we arraign the Republican Party, which has been in continuous power in the nation for twenty years, as being false to duty, as false to loudly proclaimed principles of equal justice to all and special favors to none, and of protection to the weak and dependent, insensible to the mischief which the trade in liquor has constantly inflicted upon industry, trade, commerce, and the social happiness of the people; that 5,652 distilleries, 3,830 breweries, and 175,266 places for the sale of these poisonous liquors, involving an annual waste to the nation of one million five hundred thousand dollars, and the sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, have, under its legislation, grown up and been fostered as a legitimate source of revenue; that during its history, six Territories have been organized and five States been admitted into the Union, with Constitutions provided and approved by Congress, but the prohibition of this debasing and destructive traffic has not been provided, nor even the people given, at the time of admission, power to forbid it in any one of them. Its history further shows, that not in a single instance has an original prohibitory law been passed by any State that was controlled by it, while in four States, so governed, the laws found on its advent to power have been repealed. At its national convention in 1872, it declared, as part of its party faith, that "it disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government," which, the author of this plank says, was adopted by the platform committee with the full and implicit understanding that its purpose

was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance, prohibitory, and Sunday laws.

Ninth. We arraign, also, the Democratic Party as unfaithful and unworthy of reliance on this question; for, although not clothed with power, but occupying the relation of an opposition party during twenty years past, strong in numbers and organization, it has allied itself with liquor-traffickers, and become, in all the States of the Union, their special political defenders, and in its national convention in 1876, as an article of its political faith, declared against prohibition and just laws in restraint of the trade in drink, by saying it was opposed to what it was pleased to call "all sumptuary laws." The National Party has been dumb on this question.

Tenth. Drink-traffickers, having the history and experience of all ages, climes, and conditions of men, declaring their business destructive of all good—finding no support in the Bible, morals, or reason—appeal to misapplied law for their justification, and intrench themselves behind the evil elements of political party for defense, party tactics and party inertia become battling forces, protecting this evil.

Eleventh. In view of the foregoing facts and history, we cordially invite all voters, without regard to former party affiliations, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drinking system, under the authority of our National and State Governments. We also demand, as a right, that women, having the privileges of citizens in other respects, be clothed with the ballot for their protection, and as a rightful means for the proper settlement of the liquor question.

Twelfth. To remove the apprehension of some who allege that a loss of public revenue would follow the suppression of the direct trade, we confidently point to the experience of governments abroad and at home, which shows that thrift and revenue from the consumption of legitimate manufactures and commerce have so largely followed the abolition of drink as to fully supply all loss of liquor taxes.

Thirteenth. We recognize the good providence of Almighty God, who has preserved and prospered us as a nation; and asking

for His Spirit to guide us to ultimate success, we all look for it, relying upon His omnipotent arm.

1880.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, CINCINNATI, OHIO,
JUNE 22.

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare:

First. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic Party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the Party.

Second. Opposition to centralization, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism; no sumptuary laws; separation of the church and state for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

Third. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national; and a tariff for revenue only; the subordination of the military to the civil power; and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

Fourth. The right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights; and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

Fifth. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only; and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the elections, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insults the people and imperils their institutions. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime; and demand a reform, by statute, which shall

make it for ever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

Sixth. The great fraud of 1876-7, by which, upon a false count of the Electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government. The Democratic Party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time, in the firm and patriotic belief that the people would punish the crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the consciences of a nation of freemen.

Seventh. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden, not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican Party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with deep sensibility; and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity unshaken by the assaults of the common enemy; and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standard of public morality, and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

Eighth. Free ships, and a living chance for American commerce upon the seas; and on the land, no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

Ninth. Amendments of the Burlingame treaty; no more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and, therein, carefully guarded.

Tenth. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

Eleventh. The Democratic Party is the friend of labor and

the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

Twelfth. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure \$10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad; and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.



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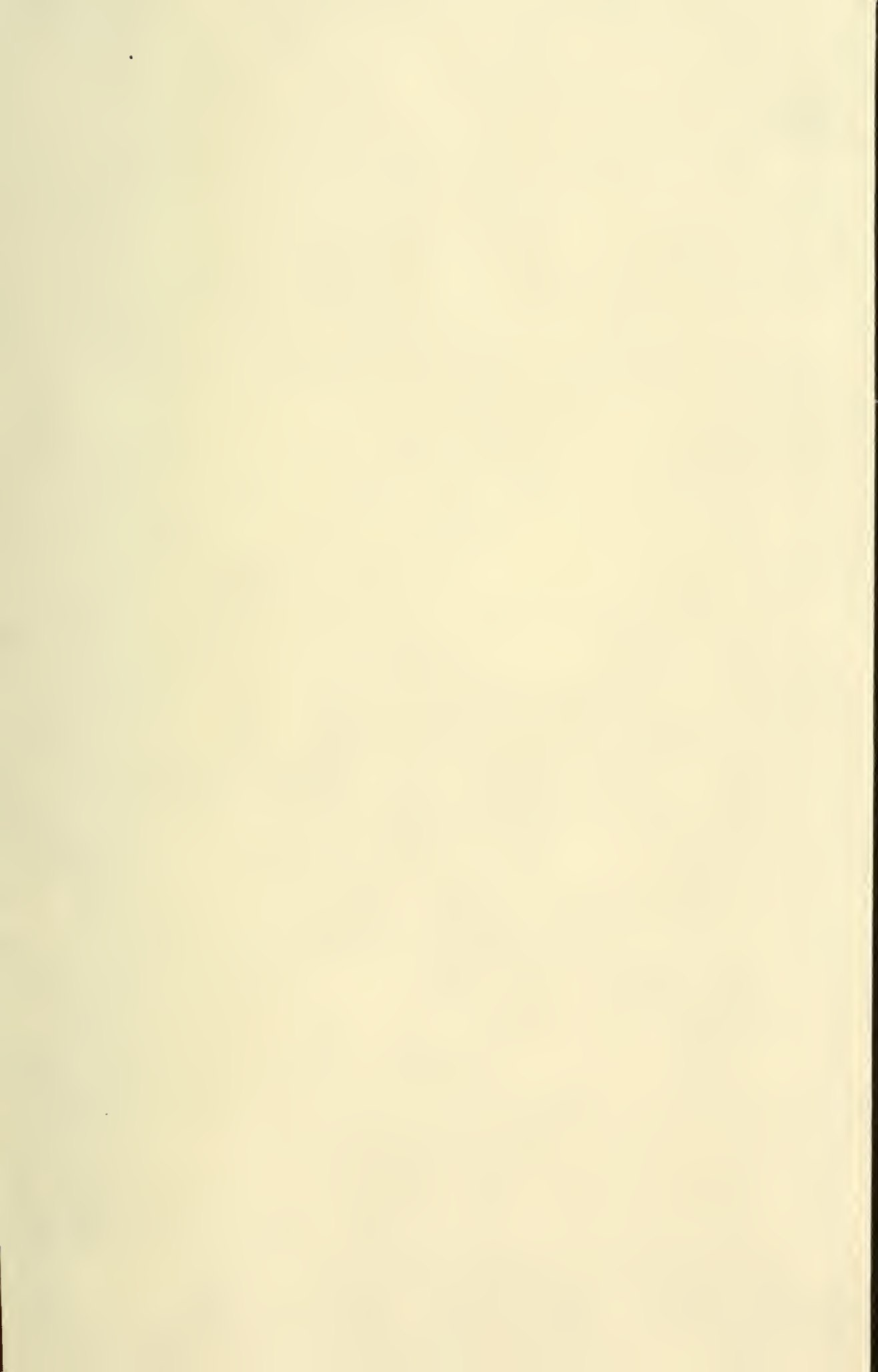
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